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ABSTRACT

The conference papers presented in this volume explore various aspects of a central question: how will computers be used in language teaching or, more broadly, who will be in control? The volume is divided into three sections: Critical Interactions, Promising Approaches, and Political Influences. Papers included within each of these categories are summarized in introductory remarks preceding each section. Titles of the papers are as follows" "The Promise and Threat of Microcomputers for Language Learners" (plenary address); "The Organization of Interaction in Elementary Classrooms"; "Contrasts in Teachers' Language Use in a Chinese-English Bilingual Classroom"; "Formulaic Speech in Early Classroom Second Language Development"; "Language Is Culture: Textbuilding Conventions in Oral Narrative"; "Bilingual Education for Native Americans: the Argument from Studies of Variational English"; "ESL Readers' Internalized Models of the Reading Process"; "A Cloze is a Cloze is a Cloze?"; "A Transfer Curriculum for Teaching Content-based ESL in the Elementary School"; "The Role of Formal Rules in Pronunciation Instruction"; "Developing Expectations for Text in Adult Beginning ESL Readers"; "Patterns and Perils of Guessing in Second Language Reading"; "The Organizational Patterns of Adult ESL Student Narratives: Report of a Pilot Study"; "Some Limitations in Teaching Composition"; "In Search of the Key: Research and Practice in Composition"; "From Communicative Competence to Cultural Competence"; "Do You Have the Key?"; "The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching: An Observation Scheme"; "'Fifth Business' in the Classroom"; "TESOL as a Political Act: a Moral Question"; and "Where Do YOU Stand in the Classroom?--A Consideration of Roles, Rules and Priorities in the Language Classroom." (MSE)

ED275137

ON TESOL '83

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL

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Barry P. Taylor

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Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Language

ON TESOL '83

THE QUESTION OF CONTROL

Selected papers from the Seventeenth Annual
Convention of Teachers of English to
Speakers of Other Languages, Toronto, Canada,
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Edited by
Jean Handscombe
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PREFACE

Toronto is an Iroquoian word meaning "a place of meeting," and the city provided just that in March, 1983, when over 4100 TESOLers from forty-five countries gathered there to participate in the Seventeenth Annual TESOL Convention.

This volume contains a selection of papers presented at the Convention. The articles were chosen for their relevance to a wide audience: for those who are new to the profession, this collection provides an introduction to the major issues in the teaching of English to speakers of other languages; for those who are already in the field, it offers an update on current concerns and for all of those who attended the Convention, it serves as a memento.

The Convention Program Book, with its details of the more than 800 sessions which were offered during the six days, is a more complete and accurate record of the event than any selection of papers could be. The sixty-nine pages of *Daily Schedule* indicate clearly the variety of interests served by TESOL, the range of students whom its members teach, the compelling questions to which they seek answers in order to help them in that work, and the sources of information and support available to individuals and groups within the profession. TESOL Toronto was designed with this diversity in mind, but certain emphases were also included, all of which are represented in this volume. First, there was a focus on the Canadian experience of second language teaching and learning, which seemed particularly appropriate since this was the first time that the TESOL Convention had been held in Canada. Second, there were many presentations concerned with the application of computer-assisted instruction to language teaching, included for the purpose of sharing the results of recent experimentation in an area that is relatively new to TESOL. And last, there was a deliberate and substantial attempt to highlight the crucial importance of developing the socio-political awareness of TESOL members.

The volumes open with, and takes as its privot, the text of the plenary address given by Frank Smith, "The Promise and Threat of Microcomputers for Language Learners." Smith, who has made Canada his home since 1968, is personally and professionally committed to harnessing computer technology but adamantly opposed to being harnessed by it. His paper, therefore, touches on all three emphases mentioned above and provides the sub-title of this volume, "The Question of Control," as well as the themes around which the remaining papers are organized.

In his paper, Smith describes the natural settings within which, he claims, most learning, including that of language, takes place. Smith suggests that in these situations the learning is 1) meaningful, 2) unconscious, 3) effortless, 4) incidental, 5) vicarious, 6) collaborative, and 7) free from risk. Computer technology, he argues, has the potential of providing just such a learning environment; but Smith is quick to point out that the opposite is also possible. The question is one of determining who will make the critical educational decisions concerning how computers will be used in language teaching: who, in other words, will be in control?

The twenty papers that follow Smith's plenary develop and define this question of control. These papers are divided into three sections: Section I, *Critical Interactions*, provides insights into the teaching/learning process, which can help ESOL teachers gain more control over their teaching; Section II, *Promising Approaches*, suggests techniques and skills worth mastering; and Section III, *Political Influences*, describes the wider context in which language must be considered if teachers are not to be controlled without their knowledge or consent.

The papers included under each of these categories are summarized in greater detail in the introductory remarks which precede each of the three major sections of this volume.

Jean Handscombe, Richard A. Oren, and Barry P. Taylor
Toronto, DeKalb, and Philadelphia
December, 1983

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The Promise and Threat of Microcomputers for Language Learners

Frank Smith

We live in exciting times. The influence of microcomputers is growing rapidly and inexorably in education, and I want to reflect upon the dramatic consequences that could transpire for learners and for language. Computers are incredibly powerful devices, capable, I think, of destroying both literacy and teachers if they are not used intelligently. On the other hand, I also believe that miniaturized computer technology has the potential of raising both language and education to levels beyond our current capacity to understand.

Despite my title and initial usage, for the remainder of this discussion I shall refer simply to *computers* rather than to *microcomputers* or *micros*. Although popular in educational jargon, the term *microcomputer* is unwieldy and also technically incorrect (the *microcomputer* is the tiny operating chip at the heart of the device). My subject is the class of small computers known in the trade and advertising brochures as *home*, *personal*, or *desk-top*, costing about $2000 or less, and in particular with their *word processing* functions.

These are weighty issues, and I shall build to them gradually. First I shall consider learners and language, and then computers. This is the order that I think everyone in language education should respect. I am not in the least interested in manipulating either learners or language to fit the demands of computers. But I am most interested in using computers in the service of learners and language. Therefore, I do not propose to talk about computers until the very end of this presentation. Instead I shall devote most of my time to considering once again the nature of learning and of language. Children's learning is much more complex, powerful and subtle than they are usually given credit for, especially in education, and the consequences of failure to recognize the true nature of learning will become enormously dangerous with the deployment of computers for instruction. And language itself is much more elaborate and intricate than is generally realized, which

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Frank Smith taught at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education from 1967–80 and at the University of Victoria from 1980–83. He is presently devoting full-time to independent research and writing.

again can lead to great hazards if computers are indiscriminately used for teaching about language.

THE COMPLEXITY OF SPOKEN LANGUAGE

Both the amount and complexity of the spoken language learned by children during the first few years of their lives are underestimated. Language learning is belittled and distorted by the common assumption that it essentially involves the development of vocabulary and grammar. There is much more to language learning than vocabulary and grammar; if these are all you have then you are most unlikely to understand or to be understood in any language. But even the amount of vocabulary and grammar learned by young language users is grossly underrated.

Vocabulary

Most people do not know the size of their own vocabulary. They know how tall they are, and their shoe size, and even sometimes a number supposed to be a measure of their intelligence, but they are ignorant of something as fundamental as the size of the pool of words upon which they can draw in support of every human transaction. So I shall tell you how to make a very quick and reliable estimate of the size of your vocabulary. Take the biggest dictionary you can find—the bigger the dictionary, the bigger your vocabulary will be—and randomly select a representative sample of 100 words on which to test yourself. The easiest way to select such a sample is to divide the number of pages in the dictionary by 100 and to look at one word on each of the resultant number of pages. If the dictionary has 800 pages, for example, 800 divided by 100 equals 8, so you look at one word on page 8, another on page 16, on page 24, and so on. The particular word you look at on each page doesn't matter provided you do not know what it will be, so select a convenient one in advance, like the first on the page (which many dictionaries also print in the top margin). As you look at each of the 100 words, simply ask yourself if it is familiar. Don't worry about whether you can give the dictionary definition—knowing the definition doesn't prove that you can use or understand the word, and not knowing the definition doesn't mean that you can't. Ask whether you would be likely to understand the word if you met it in context, in a sentence that you read or heard, without having to ask someone about it or to consult a dictionary. If the word is sufficiently recognizable, credit yourself with knowing it. Count up the number of words that you know out of the 100, and you can say that you know that percentage of words in the dictionary. If the dictionary contains 120,000 words (most dictionaries tell you at the beginning how many words they contain), and you recognize 75 of the 100 sample words, then you can assume you know about 75 per cent of the 120,000 words in that dictionary, which equals a vocabulary of 90,000 words.

How many words does the *average person* know? Estimates vary widely, partly because of the difficulty of defining exactly what constitutes a word. I have seen estimates of 100,000, 150,000 and even 250,000 words for an average young adult's vocabulary. The most conservative estimate I have ever seen, for high school leavers, is 50,000. Consider just that one number for a moment—50,000 words, learned in the first 18 years or so of life. Do a little mental arithmetic. It works out to an average of about 2700 words a year. How does anyone manage to acquire that kind of vocabulary, at that rate?

Mary Smith (1941)—no relation of mine—asked that question of seven and eight-year-old schoolchildren in California over forty years ago. I still cannot understand why her results are not better known among language teachers. She estimated the vocabulary size of a group of seven-year-olds, and also the vocabulary of a group of eight-year-olds, using the technique I have just described. She subtracted the first figure from the second and reasoned that the result represented the number of words the seven-year-olds would be likely to learn during their eighth year of life. She then divided that number by 365 and the result was—29. Those children were adding an estimated 29 new words to their vocabularies every day of their lives—including Saturdays, Sundays and holidays. And Mary Smith made no allowance for forgetting or inattendance. Presumably a child who spent all of one day in bed had to learn 58 new words the next.

Many teachers do not believe the result of Mary Smith's study. They say it is impossible. They say that it takes an hour to teach a child a list of ten words, and they are lucky if the child remembers five of them the next day and two by the end of the week. When could children learn 29 new words a day? I suppose part of the answer must be when they are not working on the word list.

Miller (1977) was also suspicious of such a result. He had exactly the same kind of estimates made with a group of four-year-old children in an experimental school in New York. And the conclusion of this study was that the four-year-olds were adding words to their vocabulary at the rate of 20 a day. Miller calculated that they had in fact been learning at the average rate of one word for every hour they had been awake since birth. Who taught them?

Even these numbers minimize the amount of vocabulary learning that children routinely achieve. There is an odd idea around that for a word to be learned, its sound—its *name*, if you like—such as *table* or *chair*, has to be associated or connected in some way with its meaning. But there are no *meanings* floating around in the world, waiting to have the sounds of words attached to them. Words do not have unique and discrete meanings, except in the conventional *definitions* of concise dictionaries and schoolbooks. Words instead have complex rules of application, varying according to many linguistic and situational factors. The most common words of any language have a multiplicity of senses and even of grammatical function. Check how much space is taken up in English dictionaries to *define* everyday words like *time, run, house*, or *empty*. If you know 50,000 words then you know 500,000 possible meanings of those words, or 5,000,000, or an infinity. When did you learn them all?

Grammar

I do not have the space to talk about grammar, except to say that the grammars every child knows are far more complex than the children or the grammars are ever given credit for. I am not talking about the traditional structural grammar taught in classrooms, which causes so many otherwise competent language users so much difficulty and which never helped anyone to say anything or to understand anything. This is a post mortem grammar, useful only for the dissection of language lying dead on a page. I am referring instead to the grammars that children need to use to make sense of the language they hear around them, and to be understood themselves. These are the grammars that linguists sometimes refer to as *generative* and *transformational*—the functional systems of dynamic interconnections between language and thought in the human brain.

Even infants just beginning to talk employ such functional grammars because words are never put together randomly. The language we produce always follows *rules* of implicit internal grammars, even though these grammars themselves vary among groups of individuals as part of the characteristic ways in which the groups use language among themselves. To be understood and to understand, we must know and respect the grammars of the people with whom we communicate. For this reason I consistently refer to *grammars* in the plural. A functioning language user must master more than one grammar. Even if the grammars of individuals within a group vary only slightly, both those variations and the appropriateness of their use on particular occasions must be understood. A child who can understand the language of a particular television character shares a knowledge of that character's grammar.

And these grammars are of a complexity that defies linguistic analysis. No researcher has ever attempted to delineate anything like a full set of the language rules that even a child of two commands. Intricate theories are required to describe only small parts of a child's total functioning grammar, such as the negative or interrogative. Linguists who attempt to hypothesize the systems underlying adult language produce recondite arguments running to hundreds of pages, incomprehensible to the lay person, containing diagrams of nodes and interconnections rivalled in complexity only by anatomical illustrations of the neurological networks of the brain itself. How could such grammars be taught to children? Most people do not even suspect that they exist. When and how could they be learned?

Cohesion, Idiom and Register

The vocabulary and grammar employed by individual language users may be more extensive and complex than is generally realized, but they would still be far from adequate in themselves to constitute an effective functioning spoken language. Mastery of at least three additional language systems is required, the systems of cohesion, idiom and register.

Just as sentences are not composed of just one word after another, randomly organized, so extended utterances or texts are not just sequences of sentences randomly juxtaposed. Grammar determines how words should be arranged in sentences, but grammar ends at the sentence boundary. A different system organizes sequences of sentences, a system that is called cohesion. Every sentence contains cohesive markers that lock it into the sentences around it. To change the order of sentences in meaningful discourse, the sentences themselves must be changed. I can say "the book is in the car. I'll get it." but not "I'll get it. The book is in the car." I would have to change the sentences themselves to something like "I'll get the book. It's in the car." Halliday and Hasan (1976) say that cohesion is what puts the texture into text. Their endeavor to outline the different kinds of linguistic device that lock sentences together cohesively runs to over 350 pages. Such is the complexity of a system that few people suspect exists, yet that all children learn with respect to the groups whose language they share.

Then there is idiom, the minefield of language learning as far as I am concerned. My bookshelves are littered with the tombstones of teach-yourself books for the many languages I have attempted to learn in the past. In every volume I have worked my way diligently through the first eighteen chapters, memorizing all the vocabulary items and achieving eight out of ten on every grammar test, until I was sure I had the language beaten. And then I was hit by chapter nineteen, the chapter headed *Idiom*, and suddenly realized that I did not know the language at all. The actual examples of language in use in that chapter—the extracts from novels, newspapers, correspondence and conversations—were nothing like the fabricated *examples* of the first eighteen chapters. By definition, idiom is the way the language is used. To know a language you must know its idiom. But by definition also, idiom is what vocabulary and grammar will not predict. And the scope of idiom is enormous, far more than could ever be covered in chapter nineteen. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English lists 75,000 *illustrative phrases* and 11,000 idiomatic expressions. The Oxford Dictionary of Idiomatic English contains 20,000 items. Neither volume is truly current because idiom is the living edge of language and constantly changing. How did you learn all of this in your childhood and youth?

Yet even with cohesion and idiom on top of vocabulary and grammar, you do not qualify as a competent language user. Again as every child knows, although linguists have only relatively recently begun to understand it, the language we speak must vary from occasion to occasion according to register. And register depends upon three critical factors, the topic under discussion (you do not discuss a death in the family in the same way as a shortfall in the coffee fund or the staff picnic), whom you are talking to (four-year-old children talk differently to six-year-olds and to two-year-olds, to children and adults, strangers and friends, parents and teachers), and the circumstances in which you talk (you do not address your aunt in the same way face to face, by mail or over the telephone).

And still I have not considered all of the language learning that children engage in and largely master during the first few years of their lives. I could expatiate on how much children learn of intonation, gesture, and other complicated but nonverbal aspects of language. But I hope I have made my point. The amount of language learning accomplished by children is enormous, and it is all done without formal instruction, deliberate application, programs, drills, exercises, marks, tests, scores, conscious feedback or diagnosis.

The Conventionality of Language

Every aspect of language that I have discussed—every one of those thousands of words and idioms, hundreds of grammatical devices and all of the nuances of register—could be different. They are all conventions, reached by historical accident and tacit agreement. None of them is especially logical or necessary; in other languages everything done in our language is done differently. What this says to me is that learning a working knowledge of any language is an enormous intellectual feat. The particular language that you speak is not a genetic gift, part of your biological inheritance, nor could you have worked it out by logic or reason. Every bit of language has to be learned.

Children do not learn to speak the language of their parents unless they are brought up in the language community of their parents. A child brought up in a Chinese speaking environment learns to speak Chinese. The same child raised in a Swahili culture would learn Swahili. Surrounded by English speakers, the child would learn English, and later in life find Chinese or Swahili difficult if not impossible. There are over three thousand different *natural* languages in the world, and every child who is born is capable of learning any of them, and will of course learn the one that happens to be around. In fact, no one would suggest that the languages we have in the world at this moment constitute a full set, that there could not be others. Languages were different hundreds of years ago, and will be different hundreds of years from now. That means that every child who is born is capable of learning languages which do not yet exist. The thought makes me shiver.

I marvel even more at the thought that every baby is capable of learning to make sense of the culture, the society, into which he or she is born. I do not know how many different cultures and societies there are in the world, or even how one might categorize and count them, but there must be many thousands more than there are languages. Their variety is enormous. Yet once again, children's rapid understanding of the customs and relationships of the community of which they are part is not born in them, it is not a biological predisposition. All children are capable of making sense of the world in which they find themselves—at least until they get to school. But the worlds we have today, in all their variety, are different from those of former times and from those of the future. That means that children are born capable of making sense of worlds that do not yet exist.

THE LEARNING BRAIN

How then is all of this learning about language and about the world accomplished by children? Part of the answer must be that learning takes place continuously. Learning is not the occasional, sporadic, almost reluctant activity it is often taken to be in schools, requiring specially organized instructional sequences, incentives, feedback, reinforcement, monitoring and testing. Rather learning must be a constant condition of the brain, its natural occupation, as continual, effortless and unconscious as breathing normally is for the lungs. Lungs are not organs which occasionally, under appropriate circumstances, can be induced to breathe. By definition, lungs breathe; lungs that are not breathing are something else, like dead lungs. Children do not normally have to be taught to breathe. They are equipped with a potent device that makes not breathing aversive, namely suffocation. That is why we do not have to drill children in anti-suffocation skills in school. By definition also, brains learn. Brains which are not learning are something else, anaesthetized brains perhaps. Every child is equipped with a device as potent as suffocation that makes not-learning aversive. That device is boredom. A condition of boredom means only two things, either that we know something already or that we see no point in learning something. In either case, boredom means that learning is not occurring, and boredom is intolerable, especially for children.

Children may not learn what we think we teach them in the classroom, but we may not be teaching what we think we teach in the classroom. We may be teaching that learning is boring, painful, ritualistic and discriminatory, and that may be what children are learning. The fact that children may be learning all the time is a time bomb in every classroom. They may learn not from what we preach but from what we practise. They may be learning what we really feel about reading, writing, education and children.

How is children's first command of spoken language achieved? Not because their parents instruct them in any explicit sense. Parents have neither the time nor the expertise even to begin consciously to inform their children about the nature of their own vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, idiom and so forth. Nor, for that matter, do teachers or linguists. Children learn about language by direct involvement in language use. They join a language community as junior members—"spontaneous apprentices," as Miller (1977) aptly says—and learn because other people help them use language and take it for granted that they will learn themselves. If a child does not understand what someone else says, the circumstances in which the speech occurs is likely to indicate what it means—"Pass the salt, please"—and learning can take place. If circumstances do not explicate then an adult probably will. When a child tries to say something, adults or peers help the child to say it properly. Not that a great deal of spoken language can be learned from one's own speech—children just do not say enough to learn by trial and error. What speaking does is admit children to a community of spoken language users, where they can hear and learn vicariously from people who talk the way it is taken for granted they will learn to talk themselves.

There is exquisite selectivity. Children first begin talking like their parents, then like their peers, and later perhaps like their favorite entertainment or sporting personalities. They do not learn to talk like everyone they hear speaking, even those they may hear most. They learn the language of the groups to which they belong (or want to belong), and resist the language of the groups that they reject or from which they are rejected. They learn, I want to say, from the clubs to which they belong.

This pervasive and continual learning extends far beyond the structures and conventions of language to mannerisms, dress, ornamentation and all other patterns of behavior in general. It takes place in the absence of overt motivation or deliberate intention (as we all know when we come away from a film or a book acting the part of one of the characters). *Engagement* is the term I have used to characterize such learning (Smith, 1981a). It is not learning that takes place as a consequence of someone else doing something, but rather learning that occurs concurrently with the original act—provided that we make it our act too. The other person's behavior is our own learning trial. We learn when the other person does something on our behalf, something we would like to do, which we take for granted—if we think about it at all—that we will be able to do. It is the kind of thing people like us do. We are members of the club.

There are seven characteristics of these learning situations that warrant attention. The learning is (1) meaningful, (2) unconscious, (3) effortless, (4) incidental, (5) vicarious, (6) collaborative, and (7) free from risk. The learning is meaningful because there is always an apparent purpose, the behavior is done for a reason which the learner understands and can share. The learning is incidental (and unconscious and effortless) because accomplishment of the purpose, not learning, is the learner's objective. (I call this the "Can I have another donut?" theory of language learning. Every child learns to say "Can I have another donut?", not in order to learn how to make such a statement but to get another donut. In the process of trying to get the donut, the child incidentally learns how the request is uttered.) The learning is vicarious and collaborative because someone else does what the learner learns, and for the same reason it is free from risk. There are no tests and no grades.

Adults learn continually in the same way—though most of us have come to regard learning as such an effortful process that we are inclined to overlook such learning on our own part or to regard it as something different (perhaps as *memory*). For example, with a little bit of mood setting we can all recapitulate the most interesting contents and much of the layout of the last newspaper, magazine and novel that we read, we can describe what we had for lunch yesterday and the day before, what our friends wore, and what we saw on television or at the movies. With scarcely more than a glance we can recognize movies we last saw years ago. Indeed, the only thing likely to interfere with our recollection of an event in which we are personally involved is the deliberate decision beforehand to try to memorize what we are about to experience.

If learning can be so effortless and continual, why does it frequently seem so difficult? Four reasons can this time be enumerated. The first is that learning does not take place if we do not understand what we are hoping to learn. What could there be to learn? The second cause of learning failure is memory overload. The effort to memorize destroys comprehension and thus makes learning difficult and pointless. The third reason is absence of utility. We do not easily learn something for which we see no purpose. And the fourth reason is expectation that learning will not take place in any case. This I believe is the cause of so much adult difficulty in mastering particular subjects (like statistics, foreign languages or reading music, for example) despite enormous outlays of time and effort, and why it is tragic that so many children are tested to prove that learning will be difficult for them. Learning occurs only if we preceive ourselves as members of the appropriate club. If we exclude ourselves or if exclusion is imposed upon us, then the brain simply shuts down as far as the particular learning is concerned. This is not the kind of person we are, and there is no possibility of vacarious engagement.

READING AND WRITING

Similar problems of mastering huge numbers of conventions confront children learning to read and to write. Written language is not just speech written down; there is a whole new range of registers to be learned in order to understand and produce different kinds of text. Once again the task is grossly underestimated. Writing is often seen simply as a matter of learning handwriting, spelling and punctuation. Writing is much more than these, but the scope and scale of even these *basics* is generally unsuspected by teachers and learners alike. Spelling, for example, demands the memorization of every word we are ever likely to write (Smith, 1981). The *rules* of spelling are numbered in the hundreds and still carry only a fifty percent probability of being correct for any particular word. There are so many alternatives and exceptions that we must confirm and memorize the correct spelling of every word we hope to write with confidence in the future, even if it does happen to be *regular*. When does anyone check the spelling of all the words that are routinely spelled correctly, let alone commit them to memory?

Punctuation, capitalization and other *rules* of grammar are essentially circular and meaningless to anyone who cannot already do what is supposed to be explained. Children are instructed to begin sentences with a capital letter and to end them with a period, but if they ask what a sentence is they will sooner or later be told that it is something that begins with a capital letter and ends with a period. The statement that a sentence is a *complete thought* is as inaccurate and empty as the assertion that a word is a *unit of meaning* or that a paragraph is organized around a single topic. How could anyone recognize a unit of meaning, a complete thought or a topic in isolation? Linguists are unable to make any constructive use of such statements, which are definitions, not rules of application. They are meaningless to anyone without an implicit understanding of the conventions that determine what constitutes a word, sentence or paragraph, conventions which differ from one language to another. Unfortunately, those in possession of such implicit understanding tend to find the definitions transparently obvious and to regard them as the basis of learning rather than the consequence of having learned. Obviously anyone who can write must have knowledge of these conventions, but this knowledge cannot be made explicit and taught to others.

Even arbitrary *rules*, descriptions and definitions evade us when it comes to such subtle considerations as style, the intricate registers that written language itself demands in different circumstances, and the *schemes* appropriate to the particular medium being employed. Once again, trial and error cannot account for what writers know. No one could write enough and get sufficient feedback to discover even a fraction of all the relevant conventions. The only place all the demonstrations are available is in the text produced by others. I have argued that children must learn to write by reading like writers—they must use authors as unwitting collaborators (Smith, 1983).

In Britain, Margaret Spencer has been developing the idea that children are taught to read by authors. She is elucidating the mystery, often stated but rarely explored, that children learn to read by reading. Her view is that authors of the stories children most like to read understand best what children must know in order to learn to read, and that children acquire this knowledge in the process of reading these stories (or having them read to them).

Once again, for reading and for writing, the learning principles I have outlined can be seen to apply. Children learn by being accepted and by accepting themselves as members of the club of written language users. When children see themselves as poets they read poetry like poets, the vicarious engagement can take place, and they learn to write like poets. They read children's stories like writers of children's stories when they join the club of children's story writers. Of course, until children can write for themselves they need help in joining the club, just as they needed help when first they joined the club of talkers. The language teacher's primary responsibility must be to help children join the appropriate clubs. This is difficult, of course, for teachers who cannot write poetry or stories, who are not members of the clubs themselves. The easiest and most productive way for teachers to induct themselves into these clubs is to write with children. Teachers themselves will then find they are reading poetry and stories differently, reading like authors, and they will be better able to facilitate learning by children at the same time that they are learning themselves.

All of this is the ideal and—I would argue—the only way to learn to become literate. Consider again the seven aspects of spoken language learning situations which I enumerated earlier; they all apply in these reading and writing situations. What is being learned always has sense and meaning to a child; the reading and writing are for a purpose, not an exercise. The learning is unconscious and effortless, no one at the time would know that it was actually taking place. The learning is incidental, the child is reading and writing for the sake of the reading and writing, not for the sake of learning. The learning is vicarious and collaborative, with the author being employed actively as guide and source of knowledge. And there is no risk—there are no exercises, marks, tests, scores or grades.

SCHOOLS

Of course, schools are nothing like this. There is very little meaningful purposeful engagement in either spoken or written language, whether in the tasks and exercises, in the exchanges between teacher and children or among children in class themselves. Almost all of the language, spoken and written, is employed for school purposes, and it has very little resemblance to the language of the world outside (Cazden, 1972). School purposes are so pervasive that many teachers cannot separate reading and writing from drills and tests. If asked to describe reading and writing such teachers (and often students and parents too) will simply list classroom activities. (In the same way, many teachers and students cannot imagine an educational world without constant tests and evaluations, although these also are not part of meaningful language learning and use in the world outside school). Such teachers have forgotten what written language is really for. Here is a short and incomplete list which might help them.

Written language is for stories to be read, books to be published, poems to be recited, plays to be acted, songs to be sung, newspapers to be shared, letters to be mailed, jokes to be told, notes to be passed, cards to be sent, cartons to be labelled, instructions to be followed, designs to be made, recipes to be cooked, messages to be exchanged, programs to be organized, excursions to be planned, catalogs to be compared, entertainment guides to be consulted, memos to be circulated, announcements to be posted, bills to be collected, posters to be displayed, cribs to be hidden and diaries to be concealed. Written language is for ideas, action, reflection and experience. It is not for having your ignorance exposed, your sensitivity destroyed or your ability assessed. There would not be enough time in the school day for even half of these enterprises to be engaged in even if all the other *programmed* activities of drills, exercises and tests (Smith, 1981a) were eliminated.

Why then are all these other activities so pervasive, taking up so much time and concentration that they may leave little place for more meaningful activities? Again there are several reasons. First, there is an egregious fallacy that if the various skills possessed by practitioners of a particular art or craft can be described and taught to a learner, then a new practitioner will be created. This is the underlying argument (and fallacy) beneath much of the emphasis on *basics* in education today, not recognizing that all of the skills in phonics, word recognition, spelling, punctuation, grammar and so forth are a consequence of being a reader and writer, not a cause. This view mistakes what is learned with the circumstances under which learning takes place, and in particular ignores all of the sense and purpose that permeated the practitioner's original learning. There is also the fact that schools are institutions, and as such have their own imperatives. They are—and to some extent must be—concerned with their own smooth running and perpetuation. Through inertia and for administrative convenience they establish their own procedures and constraints. It is not always easy to establish meaningful written language enterprises when constraints of age and ability groupings, the timetable, the curriculum, classroom walls and the sanctity of the corridors must first be respected. But finally and most importantly, the programmatic grade and test-oriented drills and activities to which I refer are imposed upon teachers and students alike for reasons of control (Smith, 1981b).

The Nature of Programs

Programs come in a variety of guises. They include basal readers and other sets of instructional materials, activity kits, worksheets, most tasks with questions at the end, anything in which specified individual items of learning are expected to be monitored and graded. Programs can usually be identified from their systematic format, continuous progress, goal orientation, right and wrong *answers*, tests and scores, all designed to ensure that predetermined elements of learning are continually made manifest. A program exists whenever a person outside the classroom decides what a teacher shall do next, even though the program designer can see neither the teacher nor the child involved in the learning situation. Programs are extensively employed in contemporary education and becoming more so. They have come to dominate most classrooms.

The presumption of people who believe that language learning can be simplified by breaking it down into isolated and compartmentalized particles is awesome. It is like believing that an infant could learn about the visual world by being enclosed in a darkened room with just a one-inch wide chink in the drapes, past which preselected objects are paraded. "Watch out, junior, here comes a dog. Ready for another? In a minute I'll show you a cat. You'd better memorize them because the class is moving on to cows and horses tomorrow."

Programs decontextualize and fragment learning. Their only sense is in terms of their own instructional sequences and objectives. Consider any programmatic learning activity from the point of view of the seven characteristics of natural learning situations I earlier analyzed. There is no evident meaning or extrinsic purpose, the learning must be conscious and deliberate, it is rarely effortless, cannot be incidental or vicarious, collaboration is frowned upon if not prohibited, and risk is always present. There is always a personal *grade*.

Despite the importance attached to them and the millions of dollars expended on their development and testing, instructional programs related to reading and writing have never been shown to succeed except in relation to each other or to their own limited goals. Not even the most enthusiastic program developers and apologists would claim that children—especially those most in need—are reading and writing better today than they were at the time of Sputnik, when the systems orientation to education began to seize North America and to spread across the world through missionary zeal, commercial enterprise and ideological contagion. The promise is always of pie in the sky. Failure is never attributed to basic conceptual flaws, but to teachers and to children who fail to respond properly to the programs or who insist on circumventing them. The solution is always seen in terms of more programs, of more stringent goals, objectives and activities that are proof against tampering by children and teachers. A generation of teachers has been trained to be dependent upon programs. Some are even persuaded that programs make teaching easier. In any case, programs are continuing to take up more and more of class time, restricting even more the possibilities of meaningful language enterprises. And teachers themselves are evaluated on the basis of what the programs teach best (Smith, 1981b). I am not talking about *programs* that teachers themselves produce, their agendas for the day or week or year. I am talking about procedures deliberately designed to relieve teachers of the necessity of making critical educational decisions if they don't want to and of the possibility of making them if they do.

Programs are vehicles of external control. They exist because many influential and even well-meaning people believe that there are outside experts who know better than the teacher in the classroom what that teacher should do. In other words, this is a political matter. It is no coincidence that programmatic considerations gain prominence when educational issues become overtly political—when there is a heightened public emphasis on accountability, on the demonstration of tangible results, however trivial. It is no coincidence that programs and tests go together. Both are concerned with performance rather than learning. Both function by breaking complex activities down into small and sterile units which can be administered separately, tested and counted. Neither is concerned with what cannot be measured, such as love of reading, interest in writing, willingness to attach oneself to practitioners, eagerness to put oneself into learning situations, to engage in purposeful activities—all of those meaningful possibilities to which I have been referring as membership of the club. Language programs not only exclude many children from clubs with their high and irrelevant admission requirements, they frequently conceal that such clubs actually exist.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE COMPUTER

Now I feel I have set the stage for consideration of computers. The issue is not whether we want computers in classrooms or how strongly we might feel emotionally that they can never take the place of teachers. The tide is already seeping under the doors and climbing up the walls. The question is how computers are to be employed and what the consequences will be. More specifically, it is whether computers are to be used by teachers and children, or whether computers will use them. It is the question of control.

Computers are cheaper than teachers—the equivalent of one teacher's annual salary can equip three classrooms for five years. And many influential people, including computer programmers, software developers, and assorted influential politicians and administrators, assert they are more efficient than teachers. And so they are—for teaching programs. If that is how computers are to be used, they will take the place of teachers and eradicate literacy.

Computers can be the ultimate program dispensing machines, incredibly potent and vastly appealing to those who believe instruction can be delivered to students as a commodity. Yet many teachers do not know what a computer is. They would not know what to do with one if it was put into their classroom tomorrow, and would be at the mercy of whatever programs of instruction were available. In fact they would look for programs, for software to relieve them of their anxiety. Basically, computers are power and efficiency—they can extend the human mind, just as the telephone extends the voice and ears and the telescope extends vision. Computers will do for thought and language what the automobile has done for legs, the jet plane for jumping. No-one can catalog what all this will be. What anyone today knows about the potential of computers in education is what the Wright brothers knew about the space shuttle, what Henry Ford knew about suburban shopping malls.

Computers in education must be accepted and should be welcomed, controlled, and intelligently exploited. They are not intimidating and should not be surrendered to. Consider what computers can do. Quite arbitrarily, I shall discuss uses of computers under five headings: (1) games, (2) information systems, (3) drill machines, (4) creative tools, (5) interactive devices.

Games and Information Systems

I mention games simply because for many people this is a computer's most obvious and interesting function. From an educational point of view I regard this function as true but irrelevant. There is nothing wrong with playing games on computers, but it is not their most enlightened or productive use. One interesting aspect of gaming on computers that will have some important educational implications is simulation. With a computer you can practise landing a jet plane without jeopardizing life or equipment, so realistically that even jet pilots learn on them. In such situations, of course, even aspects of language can be learned (like the jargon of air traffic controllers). It is tempting to think that simulations could provide rich opportunities for language learning and practice generally, but I do not see any necessity or advantage in this. For language learning, interaction with people for real purposes is better than participation in make-believe situations, no matter how compelling. And one of the greatest possibilities of computers, still largely unexploited, which I shall discuss in due course, is in bringing people together for language-using purposes.

I am similarly neutral about the educational potential of computers as information systems. Computers already constitute tremendous resources in the handling of information, in its acquisition, organization, storage and retrieval. But I do not see them taking the place of libraries, films or people in providing experience rather than information. And experience rather than information is the essence of language learning. Instead, computers can facilitate access to possibilities of experience with relevant books, films and people. If I need a telephone number it will be easier to have a computer look it up and dial it for me than to do all this myself. But if I want to enjoy a book, the most a computer can do is locate that book for me (at least until a computer display is as portable as a book). And if I am interested, say, in life in a particular country, an actual visit or a film will still be better alternatives to inspecting statistics or learning a set of facts.

Two aspects of the information management capacity of computers that many professional writers have found useful is in checking spelling and suggesting vocabulary. Teachers may well object to these facilities for the same reason that there were objections to typewriters and to hand-held calculators in classrooms, that they would make learning basic skills unnecessary and therefore interfere with learning. The reverse is probably true, certainly with respect to language. Difficulty with spelling or vocabulary improves neither spelling ability nor vocabulary size and interferes with composition. But anything that makes writing more fluent—that admits the learner into the club of writers—facilitates the learning of all aspects of writing.

Drill

It is as drill machines that computers are widely seen today as most relevant in education and where I think they are potentially most dangerous. Although uncertain or apprehensive teachers may be willing to hand over the task of constructing programs to experienced software developers, the repetitive presentation of simple questions where responses can be checked against *right* answers and results scored and stored for future comparison or report is in fact among the easiest kinds of computer program to write. Every bit of nonsense drill ever put on paper can be reproduced in computer software, and in living color as well.

I have listened to several TESOL convention discussions on the question of how computer software might be developed for second language instruction. The participants were TESOL experts. Most of the time they talked in terms of right and wrong answers, correcting mistakes, tests and scores, the grist of programmed instruction and totally unrelated, as I have argued, to the way language is naturally used and learned. The discussants also talked frequently and cheerfully about language that would be distorted in some way, of texts in which blanks would occur for the student to complete, or with extraneous words for the student to remove—aberrations to be systematically or randomly produced by the computer, all highly ingenious in conception and application, and all totally unnatural. Whatever these experts were talking about, it was not language as it would be experienced in acutal use. They were thinking in terms of what could be done with the computer, fitting language to what they perceived as the possibilities and limitations of the machine and to the programmatic instructional situation it might command.

For anyone who thinks that learning must be measurable to be of value, especially in continual small quantities, or who thinks that what a drill can teach must be important, especially if packaged and promoted under the label of some important-sounding skill, computer-based instruction sounds enormously attractive. It is easy to impress teachers with such programs and to get children to attend to them. So much seems to be going on. Children find any kind of nonsense more palatable if presented in a *game* atmosphere, accompanied by an occasional happy face and the promise of ten minutes of Pacman. This is truly seduction of the innocent. One educational software company currently boasts in its advertizing that it can get children to attend to *learning* activities that would be too boring if presented in any other way.

On the other hand, children may not be so easily conned by superficially attractive aspects of educational software. A favored promotion phrase about many instructional programs is that they are *user friendly*, which means basically they talk to you conversationally and personally. But this is a trivially easy trick to program. Once told the student's name, the computer will patiently respond with personal little messages like "Well done, Nick, right again" or "Too bad, Nick, you got that one wrong." I thought this silicon intimacy was so transparent that I constructed a program to be user unfriendly. It said "At last you've got one right, you blockhead", or "Wrong again, you blathering idiot." And students loved it, children and adults.

Drill and kill can fatally damage both literacy and teaching. To anyone who holds that the development of language ability is a matter of learning basic skills through systematic instruction—and there seem to be many well-meaning but misguided people who have that belief—computers can not only do the job of teachers, but they can do it better. They can lead us faster all the way down the path to totally controlled programmatic language instruction.

The Creative Alternatives

If my approach to computers appears to have been cautious, if not downright negative, it is because I wanted to consider the dangers first. These are the most immediate. I think we know more about the dangers than about the possibilities, which is one reason so many people think computers should be kept out of language classrooms. Nevertheless I think every schoolchild should have easy access to computers, especially the youngest, especially in language education, because of the two other aspects of computer use I have yet to mention, their two most positive and favorable possibilities.

As a creative tool, consider what the word processor can do for writing. For a start, it takes care of two of the greatest concerns of beginning writers and of all fluent writers—legibility and speed. Readability is always a problem for authors, even if not at the fetish level that neatness often becomes in classrooms. One touch of a computer keyboard and you have a perfectly formed letter which can be printed in a compact and properly aligned orientation. No need even to remember that in English, print goes from left to right. Typewriters offer the same advanages, of course, but at the cost of flexibility. It is difficult to erase or to write something between the lines with a typewriter and impossible to work vertically, or to draw arrows moving or connecting text in different parts of the page. But the word processor combines the speed and ease of the most sensitive electric typewriter with the maneuverability of a pencil on paper. Moving text around is a simple matter on a computer. Trying out something to see how it looks is easy, and so is retrieving what you did before. Working on two or more things at the same time is easy. Editing, correcting, revising, and retyping are literally child's play. This is power, control in the service of creativity, something that always grips children, what language and their brains inevitably seek. Word processors make writing a plastic art.

But few people have even begun to explore the power and possibilities that computers can offer all aspect of language use, in the way that Papert (1980) has explored what they can do for children's logical thought. To get even a feel of the future we must look at two other creative fields, music and art. For music, for a few hundred dollars, you can get a keyboard to connect to your computer. You can play three notes, and if you wish the computer will remember them for you and play them again, as often as you like. You would like to try three different notes? The computer will remember and play them. You prefer the first three? The computer will retrieve them. You would like to hear the six together? Repeatedly? In reverse order? Twice as fast? Transposed up or down a key? In waltztime? Syncopated? Counterpointed? Harmonized? With percussion? On the brass? Bring in the woodwinds? The ever-patient computer will do it all at the touch of a function key. And when you have put all the parts of your concerto together you can perform it on your digital stereo, make any changes you wish, and finally command the computer to print out the entire score for you. You can perform, conduct and revise your own composition as often as you like. None of the great classic composers could do that. That is the power of a computer for music.

For another few hundred dollars you can buy a graphics tablet to see what the computer will do for art. You draw a squiggle with a *pen*, and the squiggle appears on the screen. The touch of a key and the squiggle is erased. Another touch and it returns. You make it into a tree, and the computer will save it for you. You try to draw a cow to go under the tree, but fail. Did you draw a better cow yesterday? The computer will find it for you. Would you prefer to have the cow I drew? The computer will get it. The cow is too large? Touch a key and you can change its size. It is facing the wrong way? Touch a key and you can turn it round. You want a family of cows in descending order of size? In different colors? You want them to MOVE? You can't draw straight lines? Circles defeat you? No problem for the computer. It will even put a frame around the picture for you. No need to wait for paint to dry, or to repaint the entire secene to see how it looks in a different tone, in a different size, reversed, or in a different kind of frame. This is power once again—power to develop and fulfil the driving creative impulses of the human brain. No need to instruct a child in the desirability of such power. Rather adults must learn from children. I have seen artwork produced by six-year-olds with the help of computers that is equalled in imaginativeness only by those two principal *adult* manifestations of computer art possibilities, record covers and television commercials.

What will the computer do for language, for thought? I have another analogy. I heard recently of young quadriplegics, victims of cerebal palsy who had been regarded almost as vegetables because of their inability to control movement, to communicate or to express themselves. They were provided with computerized keyboards representing a small number of symbols which they could activate in some way—poking at them with a toe, an elbow, or with a unicorn's horn strapped to the forehead. The technology exists today to activate a key simply by a glance, almost by an act of will, the way an artificial limb can be controlled by a muscle twitch. Once the possibility was opened for these formerly mute youngsters to enter the world of language users, they quickly exhausted the initial possibilities of the keyboard, demanded hundreds and even thousands of new symbols, invented their own meaningful combinations, and spent hours of their days and nights talking to each other. One of the staff told me how she suddenly realized that inside each of these clumsy, limited, inarticulate adolescents was a lively, intelligent, creative individual waiting to get out. Perhaps you think you know what computer technology can do for the physically handicapped. Here is a sobering thought. We are all physically handicapped. Within the limitations of our bodies, of our perceptual processes, of the fluency with which we have been able to speak, write and draw, there is an unimaginably lively, intelligent and creative individual, waiting to be released. What will computers do for language and thought?

How can we learn about the possibilities of computers? In what directions should we procede? There is no point in asking any adult in the world today. We all grew up in the BC era—before computers. Computers constitute a new culture. To live with them requires a new language. To understand them demands individuals without fear or preconceptions who can make sense of a new language, a new culture. Fortunately such individuals exist in large numbers of every generation. I am referring of course to children. The time has come in education when we must at last acknowledge that the greatest source of learning for teachers must be children.

Computers and Collaboration

A misconception prevails that computers are solitary and isolating devices—that a child working with a computer is somehow shut off from a real world and particularly from other people. Nothing is further from the case. Computers can dissolve the walls of classrooms, collapse space as well as time, and bring people together in dramatic new ways.

In writing, for example, two people can undertake joint authorship far easier than is possible with typewriters or even pencil and paper. No need for a collaborator to lean over a child's shoulder any more. No need to take something from someone in order to read it. I can show you what I am writing simply by reproducing my screen on your screen with a touch of a key. I can give you the contents of my memory (in computer terms at least). You can comment on what I have written, even make alterations to my drafts—while on my screen I observe what you do, as you do it. If your changes please me I can accept them, and if they do not my original text is not lost. Already the technology for this exists—though its possibilities are misunderstood. For example, one networking system designed for school use has a key that can be touched so that what is on the screen or in the memory of any other computer in the classroom can be inspected. A second key permits changes to be made on any screen. And a third key, an override, can be used to prevent anyone else actually inspecting or changing what you have produced without your consent. Marvellous possibilities for collaboration—except that in the system as presented only the teacher would get the override key.

In second language instruction, children in English-speaking regions are laboriously drilled in French in the fond hope that one day they might be able to write a letter to a child in a French-speaking community. But already the technology exists for a child in Vancouver and a child in Quebec City to write a letter TOGETHER, collaborating on the text more closely than if they were sitting side by side with pencils and paper. Already, children in Fairbanks, Alaska, and in Frobisher Bay are conversing directly by computer.

We can all be closer in the future through computers. Readers will be closer to authors, writers to editors, learners to practitioners. I may not have to wait for my favorite author's next novel to be published. If the author consents, I will be able to read it as it is being written, truly making the author my collaborator as I vicariously write the story, sharing the excitement and frustration of composition and the discipline of revision and editing.

Of course there will still be a role for teachers, the same role that I have argued is the critical one for language teachers in any case, to demonstrate what language—and computers—can be used for, and to help children to use them themselves. The teacher's role will not be to instruct the child but to collaborate in activities which are mutually interesting and rewarding, where everyone learns because they share the same objectives, because they are members of the same club, even if their abilities differ.

Computers offer marvellous possibilities, still largely unexplored, but they must be used intelligently. Teachers, not computers, must be in charge of what goes on in the name of education, which means that teachers must understand computers and not be afraid of them. They are no more threatening than pianos.

Teachers themselves must learn about computers, if they are to help students to learn with them. This is not a choice that can be evaded. Fortunately, every teacher with access to a computer has an opportunity to learn, not by rushing off and taking a course in computer literacy, cramming oneself with the history of computers and the logic of Boolean algebra, but by taking the opportunity to learn WITH children. In most schools where computers are freely available to students today, students are the experts. Rigorous, time-consuming, programmed instruction is not required, only the opportunity to learn. As I have said, with computers teachers must be ready to acknowledge that education is a reciprocal activity, that the true teacher learns with the students.

My concern has not been about a theoretical issue. These are not basically philosophical, pedagogical or even practical matters that are under discussion. The issue, as I have said, is political. I have been talking about control. The question can no longer be evaded about who will make the decisions that determine how children learn, teachers working directly and collaboratively with children, or programmers pulling the strings from outside. If teachers and children are able to make use of the creative and interactive potentials of computers, then I believe we are on the threshold of a literate world scarcely imaginable. That is the alternative to the employment of computers in ways that will destroy literacy and teachers. And teachers are the critical people who must decide and and assert the way computers will be used in education.

We live in exciting times.

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I. CRITICAL INTERACTIONS

INTRODUCTION

One of the most exciting and powerful uses which Smith envisages for computers in promoting language development is their interactive potential, that is, their ability to bring "people together for language-using purposes." This view parallels and underscores an important trend in TESOL over the past decade: the movement away from the focusing of attention on such factors as student achievement, teacher behaviour, available language input, and instructional materials, toward the more interactive aspects of teaching and learning, such as what students *do* with language input, how teachers provide feedback on student production, how teachers present instructional materials, and how students react to those materials. This dynamic view of second language teaching and learning has produced a wealth of welcome research on language contact in natural settings between various combinations of native and nonnative speakers, and on interaction inside classrooms both among students and between student and teacher.

Each of the seven articles in this section identifies an aspect of interaction which seems to play a key role in helping students learn or, in the case of the last paper, in helping teachers to assess student progress.

Scott Enright begins the section with a description of two teachers' programs. To an administrator or politician, these programs may appear identical, but to someone who looks at what is actually happening in each classroom setting, they are anything but alike. Enright illustrates, by means of his *classroom interaction hierarchy*, the differences between these two programs in terms of the rules by which the classes operate, the events which the teachers organize, and the ways in which participation is structured. His hierarchy can serve as a practical model for observing both teacher and student classroom behaviour.

Larry Guthrie's paper details how two teachers, one of whom understands and speaks the dominant language of the students and one of whom does not, each interact with the same children in instructional settings. His findings suggest factors for consideration in the training of bilingual teachers and teacher-aides.

In the third paper, which is also concerned with young ESL learners, Rod Ellis demonstrates how such learners find formulaic speech useful in their beginning attempts to interact with peers and teachers in a classroom setting.

Even when native speakers of English interact, mutual understanding cannot be taken for granted. Sandra Silberstein provides an illustration of the failure of native speakers to grasp the significance of what another native speaker is saying. She suggests ways in which non-native speakers and their teachers can work together to develop their ability to understand accurately those members of the diverse speech communities which make up the English-speaking world's pluralistic societies.

Dialectal variation is also the theme of Beverly Flanigan's paper on Native American education. The years of interaction between speakers of Native American languages and speakers of English have produced many Native Americans who now speak as their first, and often only, language, a non-standard variety of English, yet one which shows little interference from the ancestral language. The choice of language(s) to be used in educating Native American children, therefore, is not simply a choice between standard English on the one hand and an ancestral language plus standard English on the other. Decisions concerning which language(s) should most appropriately be used in instructional settings with these children must be based on a consideration of how best to help the children acquire the standard variety of English in addition to maintaining the non-standard variety in which they are already fluent. Further, efforts should be made to cement the link between the non-standard variety and the Native culture.

Returning to an ESL setting, Joanne Devine reminds us that ESL students are not "blank slates". Looking specifically at the reading process, she proposes three basic categories to differentiate learners according to how they think reading is learned and, consequently, how they think they should be taught. Her paper also suggests strategies for minimizing the effect of a mismatch when a student with one set of assumptions meets a teacher with another.

This question of *match*, or *fit*, is taken up again in the final paper in this section, J. D. Brown's examination of the cloze procedure as a norm-referenced test for purposes of placement or proficiency measurement. He argues that the effectiveness of a cloze test, in terms of reliability and validity, can be improved by paying careful attention to *fitting* the cloze to specific groups of students.

The Organization of Interaction in Elementary Classrooms

D. Scott Enright

INTRODUCTION

The pedagogical issue of how best to provide America's limited English speaking (LES) children with the necessary instruction for efficiently learning English as a second language (ESL) and for giving them access to the educational resources provided by the schools has long been embedded in the political issue of howimmigrant and non-English speaking minorities should be treated within the context of American culture. Ever since the U.S. Congress in 1965 and the U.S. Supreme Court in 1974 provided the clear legal mandates for the implementation of *billingual education* programs specifically designed to meet LES children's needs, these two dimensions have remained intractably (and some would say disastrously) intertwined, with political considerations dictating the setting of educational practice, and vice versa.

Unfortunately, creation of federal funding for the establishment and maintenance of bilingual education programs at the local level was not accompanied by any clear guidelines as to the ways these programs should be designed. This was to be expected given the fact that very little research had been conducted up to that point about how children learn a second language at home and at school. But this timing resulted in a rapid proliferation throughout the 1960's and 1970's of various *programs*, *models*, and *approaches* for providing this much-needed instruction. The criteria upon which these approaches were based were often more political than pedagogical in nature, and commonly reflected the views shared by the schools and/or school-districts regarding the actual and desired status of LES students' native language and culture rather than English or learning in general. Thus, an early criterion which was used to classify bilingual education approaches was on the basis of their intention to either nurture native cultural characteristics and language skills as well as to provide English instruction (*maintenance* programs) or to establish Anglo-American cultural characteristics and English language skills as rapidly as

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possible (*transitional* programs), and programs were often funded by national, state, and local legislative bodies on the basis of these classifications.[1]

Also reflecting the heavy political influence on early bilingual education theory, a second major criterion upon which programs were commonly classified involved the way(s) in which English as well as native language(s) students brought to the classroom were to be allocated or distributed within the classroom. The names of the approaches usually reflect these distributional considerations: thus on the broadest level, *bilingual education* programs seem to presuppose the use of both the child's native language and English for instructional purposes and *English as a Second Language* (ESL) programs seem to presuppose only English instruction. Within these broad categories, parallel subcategorization seems to go on, with the implementation of such bilingual education approaches as the *dual language* approach (two adult instructors, one of whom instructs in the child's native language, and one of whom instructs in English), the *simultaneous translation* approach (all English instruction repeated in the native language, usually within the same lesson or activity), and even the *dual language and ESL* approach (two instructors with the English instructor also providing ESL instruction to LES children on a regular basis).[2]

In their efforts to establish an empirical base for the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness) of bilingual education as quickly as possible, many educational researchers sidestepped the implicit political questions involved in this conceptualization of bilingual education approaches and instead concentrated on attempting to identify the effects (the *products*) of the various approaches in terms of LES students' English acquisition, academic achievement, school attendance, and a host of other products which indicate educational *success*. Studies of this nature locate and compare large numbers of classrooms or programs which purport to be conducting second language instruction using one approach or another, and the approaches thereby become the *independent variables* to be examined. A famous example of such a product study is the national American Institute of Research (AIR) study of public school bilingual education programs which was published and widely disseminated in 1977.[3]

This tacit acceptance by many educational researchers of what is at heart a politically defined scheme for identifying and labeling second language programs led to two important results. The indirect result of this acceptance was to reify the aforementioned distributional approaches in both the academic and the public consciousness, as well as to give them credibility as different *instructional* rather than distributional approaches. And due to the lack of a clear trend in the reported results of these studies, a more direct result of this acceptance was to feed back into the political arena by providing further impetus for the continuing political hubbub over which second language instructional approach is *better* and therefore is deserving of further financial support. This hubbub culminated in the 1983 amendments to the Bilingual Education Act submitted to Congress by the Education Department on behalf of the Reagan administration, and which were described by Education Secretary Terrell H. Bell in the following manner (1983):

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[1] Kjolseth (1982) discussed the political criteria used in organizing bilingual programs as he views them, and provides an alternative classification scheme for bilingual program as either assimilationist or pluralistic.

[2] Fishman and Lovas (1970) propose a sociolinguistic typology for the classification of bilingual programs primarily based on these allocational considerations. For an additional review of the many different types of bilingual education programs that have been developed since the Bilingual Education Act, see Blanco (1977).

[3] Zappert and Cruz (1979) reviewed a large number of these product-oriented studies and summarized the results of those they felt were methodologically sound.

> Under current law the Department is precluded from funding projects which do not use the child's native language in instruction to some extent. The proposed amendments would allow the Department to fund whatever educational approach a school district believes warranted, so long as that approach is designed to meet the special educational needs of the population and can be justified as appropriate by the school district. This modification would bring the program into agreement with current research indicating that no one approach is superior for meeting the special needs of limited English proficient students in all circumstances. (p. 2)

Once again, education and educational research are being intertwined with politics and political ends, in this instance in a very deliberate manner (one cannot help but speculate that bilingual educators and researchers have contributed to their own dilemma). And after more than a decade of continuing research and experimentation, there appears to be no more of an informed consensus as to how to get on with the business of educating America's LES students than there was when the national bilingual education movement began.

Several explanations have been offered to explain the mixed research results in the field of bilingual education cited by Secretary Bell and his conclusion that no single second language *instructional approach* has emerged as clearly obtaining the best results in terms of LES students' educational success. The first places the blame on the political dimensions of the question which have previously been alluded to, stating that *success* itself is defined differently within the various approaches (for example, maintenance of the native language might be viewed as necessary to the success of one approach and as unnecessary to the success of another) and that such differences must be taken into consideration in measuring and comparing the effects of these approaches. A second explanation, and one which is quite frequently invoked when the effects of any particular educational treatment prove to be mixed or inconclusive, is that the approaches being examined were improperly or unevenly implemented by practitioners (that is, school-districts and teachers), and that if the quality of implementation could be controlled, one or another of the approaches would emerge as better. A third explanation, and one which is often raised as a counter to those offering the second explanation, is that the designs of the studies attempting to gauge the relative success of the various second language instructional approaches were flawed and that these studies did not really measure what they said they measured. Also, paralleling the second explanation, this third explanation concludes that if the quality of the research studies could be controlled, one or another of the approaches would again emerge as better.

But there is a fourth explanation which could be offered to explain the supposedly mixed research results in the field of bilingual and second language instruction, one which encompasses all of the previous three, and that is that the coherent, consistent approaches being identified and compared by researchers throughout the past 15 years never really even existed, or at least not in the forms in which they were being examined as different sorts of treatment variables. Perhaps the entire *conceptualization* of second language-instruction approaches as conceived by early theorists is the problem, making definitions of success, consistency in practice, and adequate empirical design rather moot considerations. This explanation has become increasingly frequent as researchers within the field of American bilingual education have turned from examining only the *quantitative products* of second language instruction to additionally examining and describing the *qualitative processes* of second language instruction which co-occur with those products within and across individual classrooms and amongst particular teachers and students. This naturalistic research parallels a similar development in the general educational research literature on the processes of *classroom interaction* (the communicative and behavioral exchanges occurring amongst classroom participants).

While it is not within the purview of this paper to review the different methodologies which have recently been applied to examine the processes of classroom interaction and/or second language instruction as they have developed in America,[4] it should at least be mentioned that two different and equally significant disciplines have entered the *qualitative* research literature on the processes of bilingual education: linguistics and anthropology. Prompted by linguists' interest in child language acquisition (e.g., Bowerman, 1973; Brown, 1973; Clark, 1973; Slobin, 1970) educational researchers have extended those methods to literacy, bilingual education, and classroom language learning. Linguistic studies in classrooms have adopted both quantitative and qualitative designs depending on the nature of their research question (e.g., measuring the *effects* of a particular language-teaching curriculum vs. describing the strategies used by early primary children to communicate in unfamiliar social situations). Sociolinguists interested in the *social* construction and utilization of language (Cazden, 1978; Cherry-Wilkinson, 1978; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1976; Ervin-Tripp, 1977; Garvey, 1975) have made a particularly large contribution to this body of work and were among the first researchers to combine quantitative and qualitative methods in studying classroom language. Similarly, using the traditional tools of the anthropologist, researchers in both the regular classroom (Green & Wallat, 1981; Heath, 1983; Labov, 1973; Mehan, 1979; Rist, 1973; Smith & Geoffrey, 1968; Spindler, 1974) and in the bilingual classroom (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Philips, 1971, 1982; Trueba, et al., 1981) have examined the social institution of American education and the "culture of the classroom, spending months and sometimes years in a single classroom, school, or speech community as participant observers collecting ethnographic data. Through their efforts at "making the familiar strange" (Spindler, 1982), these investigators have helped educators develop a fresh perspective in coping with all-too-familiar realities, and have suggested new solutions to persistent educational problems, as well as new foci for quantitative researchers to address in their continuing work.

It may be useful to think of the various studies of classroom interaction and second language instruction as lying on a research *continuum*, from those studies which rely the most heavily on quantitative methods in their design to those which rely the most heavily on qualitative methods in their design. On one end of the continuum would be found the correlational *product* studies previously described, and on the other end would be the general ethnographic studies conducted over a long period of time, with studies using the techniques of systematic observation (Flanders, 1970; Legarretta, 1977, 1979; Medley et al., 1973), speech act and discourse analysis (Dore, 1977; Genishi, 1978; Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975), and microethnography and microanalysis (Erickson & Shultz, 1981; Green & Wallat, 1981) being found at various points in between. The work conducted at each point along this hypothetical continuum makes a different contribution to the ongoing efforts to understand and to improve the enterprise of second language instruction, and gains meaning and perspective from the insights provided by the rest.[5]

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[4] For reviews of the literature in these areas, see Corsaro (1981) and Ramirez (1980).

The aim in the rest of this paper is to suggest an alternative conceptualization of the way in which second language instruction is organized, based on two longitudinal studies of classrooms representing all three of the general forms of instruction found in the literature on bilingual education (bilingual classrooms, ESL classrooms, and regular or mainstream monolingual classrooms) and based on the linguistic and anthropological work from which these studies emanated (the *process* end of the continuum). In the first study, two bilingual kindergartens were observed over a period of 22 weeks and three pairs of students from the classrooms were recorded and their language use analyzed. In the second study, five students were recorded and observed as they participated in both their homeroom classrooms (five different ones) and in their ESL *pullout* classrooms (three different ones).[6] Both studies were conducted using a combination of ethnographic techniques—including participant observation and formal and informal interviewing—and sociolinguistic techniques—including speech act and "constitutive ethnographic" analysis of recorded speech samples (Mehan, 1979), and are more fully reported elsewhere (Enright, 1982; Enright & Wood, 1983). The data reported here are drawn from the first study (Enright, 1982) though the paper as a whole is informed by both.

THE CLASSROOM INTERACTION HIERARCHY

Teachers often complain that they are bypassed in considerations of curriculum adoption, school organization, and other educational matters which directly affect the circumstances of their employment. Educational reformers and curriculum writers in their turn have complained that it is extremely difficult to change education because of the resistance of teachers to changing their instructional habits. The publication of *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (Rosenthal & Jacobsen, 1968), along with the subsequent controversy which arose surrounding its methodology and conclusions regarding the potency of teacher expectations, and the rather large and diverse literature which has sprung up in recent years regarding the dimensions of *teacher effectiveness* (Brophy & Evertson, 1976; Gage, 1972; Kounin, 1970) are just two examples of the importance placed by educators on the *teacher effect* or the *teacher variable* operating in classrooms.

When the focus on the organization of second language instruction shifts from the distributional considerations already described to how individual teachers organize the interaction (verbal and nonverbal) which occurs in their classrooms, quite a different conceptualization of second language instructional approaches emerges. It is the contention here that the allocation of native language and English language use as well as other matters of language practice and language learning are closely related to the ways that individual teachers conceive of the general teaching and learning process. That is, in determining how s/he believes children should think (and learn), how children should feel, and more generally, how children should behave in the classroom, the teacher also makes tacit decisions about how language will be used and learned in his or her classroom. Often these tacit decisions are in direct conflict with the teacher's stated beliefs about how s/he allocates and teaches language—they form part of the *hidden curriculum* of language learning in the classroom, if you will. Thus, there may be as many or more differences between the actual patterns of language use and language learning in two classrooms which are classified by the teacher and by others as using the *same* distributional approach, for example, two bilingual kindergartens in a school which has adopted a *dual language* approach to second language instruction and which has retained teachers and paraprofessionals to implement this approach (Enright, 1982) as between two classrooms in which LES students are enrolled and language is taught and used but which are classified differently, for example, a mainstream kindergarten and an upper grade level ESL pullout classroom in the same school which has adopted a pullout program of language instruction (Enright and Wood, 1983). As research into the processes of first and second language acquisition continues to develop and to uncover the ways in which different human beings go about developing fluency in one or more languages, it becomes increasingly necessary to also uncover these tacit dimensions of classroom language use in order to determine the relationship between the two processes.

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[5] This continuum is more fully discussed elsewhere (Enright, 1983).

[6] A *pullout* ESL program is a program in which students are *pulled out* of their homerooms to be given specific ESL instruction at designated times. In the school in this study, LES students in the school left their homerooms twice each day to go to one of three different ESL classrooms elsewhere in the building.

One way in which to view the way that teachers organize interaction in their classroom over the course of an academic year is as a hierarchy of *interactive decisions*, with each level of decision embedded in the higher levels and at least partially determined by those larger decisions. As with most hierarchies, these divisions are largely artificial (that is, it is impossible to point out where one level of decision-making begins and another ends) and are made in order to assist in elaborating upon the decision-making process. Figure 1 presents the classroom interaction hierarchy.

The Classroom Constitution (Rules)

At the top of the classroom interaction hierarchy are the rules that the teacher chooses to structure interaction in general. These rules form what Sarason (1971) calls the classroom "constitution", those a priori rules established by teachers in anticipating instruction, and which they invariably fall back on during moments of interactional confusion or flux. In general, these high-order rules are either completely tacit or are stated explicitly near the beginning of the year[7] and then become internalized by the students until their governance becomes tacit. The rules of the constitution appear to be understood (if not always obeyed) by students, violations of these rules have clear and usually immediate consequences, and these

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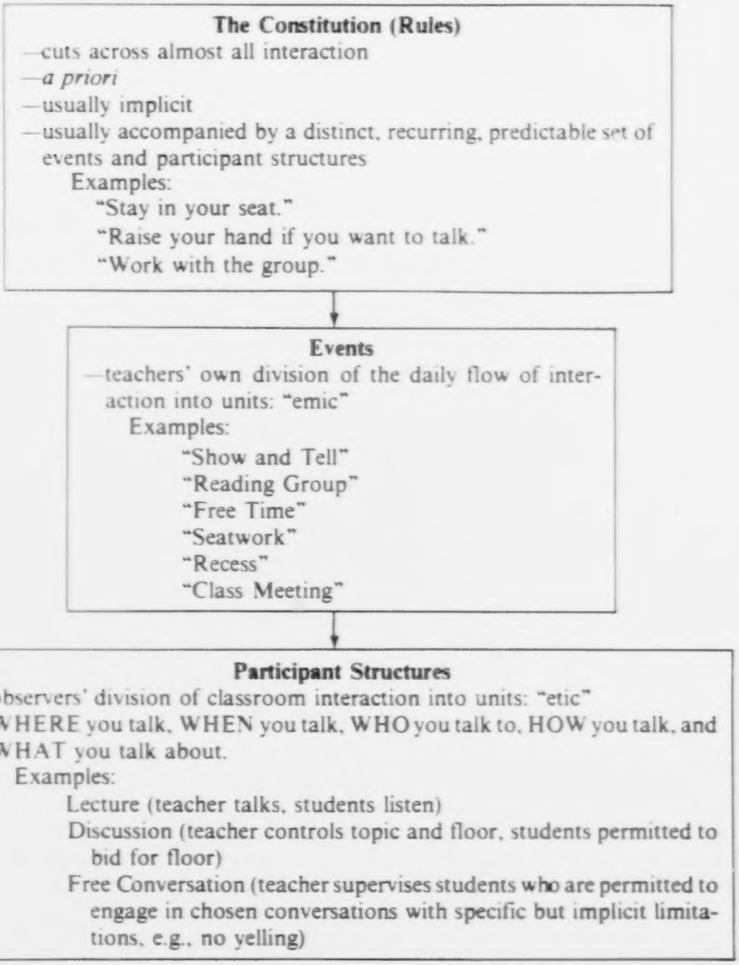
[7] In many American classrooms the classroom constitution is prominently displayed on a bulletin board or blackboard somewhere in the room, although after a certain period of time, it is practically never referred to. In one of the schools of the studies summarized in this paper, one of the most popular substitute teachers carried her classroom constitution (written on tagboard) with her and displayed it in whatever classroom she happened to be teaching in that day

Figure 1: The Classroom Interaction Hierarchy



The Constitution (Rules)

—cuts across almost all interaction
—*a priori*
—usually implicit
—usually accompanied by a distinct, recurring, predictable set of events and participant structures

Examples:
"Stay in your seat."
"Raise your hand if you want to talk."
"Work with the group."

Events

—teachers' own division of the daily flow of interaction into units: "emic"

Examples:
"Show and Tell"
"Reading Group"
"Free Time"
"Seatwork"
"Recess"
"Class Meeting"

Participant Structures

—observers' division of classroom interaction into units: "etic"
—WHERE you talk, WHEN you talk, WHO you talk to, HOW you talk, and WHAT you talk about.

Examples:
Lecture (teacher talks, students listen)
Discussion (teacher controls topic and floor, students permitted to bid for floor)
Free Conversation (teacher supervises students who are permitted to engage in chosen conversations with specific but implicit limitations, e.g., no yelling)

rules rarely change or are suspended. Rather, specific interaction within the daily life of the classroom is organized within the verbal and behavioral parameters established by them.

While Sarason (1982:216) correctly points out that the classroom constitution is completely determined by the teacher, individual teachers differ as to the kind of constitution that they use within their classrooms. Thus the interaction that is mandated by the constitution and the degree to which students may negotiate interaction and determine their own interactive fate within the classroom varies widely from teacher to teacher, even amongst teachers who are supposedly implementing the same bilingual education approach. This is illustrated in Table 1, which presents the classroom constitutions of the two *dual language* bilingual kindergarten teachers who were observed in the first study. These two teachers will henceforth be referred to by the pseudonyms of Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Blake. Within Table 1, the rules presented within quotations were actually stated in that form by the teacher during instruction; the remaining rules were compiled by the investigator from the complete sociolinguistic and ethnographic data.

Table 1: Two Kindergarten Constitutions
(C = Corollary)

Mrs. Shaw's Constitution	Mrs. Blake's Constitution
Fullgroup and Smallgroup	*Fullgroup and Smallgroup*
1. Look at the teacher (without speaking).	1. "Go with what you've got." (1C) It is better to speak and be wrong than not to speak at all.
2. Do not speak unless you are spoken to.	2. If you have something to say, say it. (2C^{t}) Say what you think. (2C^{f}) Say what you feel. (2C^{k}) Say what you know. (2C^{w}) Say what you want ("Ask and ye shall receive").
3. Avoid speaking unless it is clearly appropriate.	3. Don't interrupt (including in speaking). (3C) Don't hurt others (including in speaking).
Independent	*Independent*
4. Do, don't talk.	4. Work with the group (including in speaking). (4C) Help your friends (including in speaking).

Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Blake worked in the same school, drew their students from the same target population, taught in architecturally identical classrooms, had roughly the same (25) years of teaching experience, were undergoing the same training to receive permanent certification as bilingual teachers, and received the same resources (for example, a Spanish-dominant paraprofessional, inservice workshops, special curriculum materials) and dictates as to how to use them from the district bilingual office. But there the similarity ended. For these two teachers also brought different teaching experiences, cultural backgrounds, and life experiences into their classrooms. Their goals for their students' education and their philosophies regarding the way(s) children learn and the way(s) instruction should be organized were also very different, with Mrs. Shaw's philosophy and *press to achieve* typically referred to in the early childhood education literature as a *traditional*, or *teacher-centered* philosophy, and Mrs. Blake's philosophy and *press to interact* typically referred to as an *open* or *child-centered* philosophy (Barth, 1971; Bussis & Chittenden, 1973). Similarly, the materials used by these two teachers, the arrangement of their classroom furniture, the way(s) in which they chose to utilize their paraprofessionals in the classroom, their construction of a curriculum and of the social relations amongst classroom participants, and finally, their organization of interaction within their classrooms widely differed in spite of their mutual designation as *dual language* classrooms. Long before the children entered the classroom for the school year, these two teachers had created different expectations and demands for comportment in their classrooms—different classroom constitutions.

Mrs. Shaw's classroom rules may be divided between the first three, which are in force whenever she is directly involved in classroom interaction, and the fourth, which is in force whenever the children are working independently but under her supervision. These rules combine to make Mrs. Shaw the primary focus and the primary (and often the only) mediator of interaction in her classroom, and each of the rules serves by itself and in combination with the others to limit the amount of language which is used, to limit initiations, to tightly control peer-interaction, and to maximize silence and conformity to the teacher's wishes and the teacher's own way of interacting.

In contrast, Mrs. Blake's rules, which are in force for all the interaction in her classroom, combine to create quite the opposite effect from what Mrs. Shaw's rules accomplish. In Mrs. Blake's room, individual students and groups of students are the primary focus of the interaction that takes place. There is a large amount of *negotiated* interaction both between adults and students and amongst the students themselves in Mrs. Blake's classroom, and student initiations, peer interaction (even within activities in which the teacher is present) and language use in general are maximized.

Events

At the second level of the classroom interactive hierarchy are the teachers' interactive decisions regarding the segments of interaction, or *events*, that they use to carry out their instructional agenda throughout the school day. Classroom events are *emic* units of interaction in that they represent the teacher's *own* conceptualization of how the flow of interaction in his or her classroom is divided up and conducted. Especially in elementary classrooms, where teachers are expected to develop children's skills and knowledge in a wide variety of content areas, teachers label their events explicitly for their children and refer to them directly as they teach, thereby cueing students as to the way(s) in which they will be interacting during the next few moments. "You may now have free time," "Bluebird reading group, come over to the table," and "Put away your workbooks and line up, it's time for recess" are examples of this labeling and cueing.

Teachers define their events in terms of the subject matter and the learning goal or product to be accomplished by the event (what students are to *do* and to *learn* within the segment of interaction—for example, to learn how to read); the grouping to be used in the event (for example, small group plus teacher, individuals working on their own but under the teacher's supervision); the materials which will be used in the event (for example, workbooks and pencils, blackboard and chalk, nothing); and the physical locale in the classroom where the event is to take place (for example, *on the rug, at your seats*). And though the interaction within an event is mediated by the overall classroom constitution, each of the teachers' events also has its own particular organization, procedures, and specific application of (and occasional exception to) the rules of the classroom constitution.

The teacher also has a specific *array* of events which s/he repeatedly uses throughout the school year. Often a teacher's events are explicitly set within an unvarying time of the day (for example, reading groups held from 9:30 to 10:15) and

Table 2: Mrs. Shaw's Array of Events

Grouping	Event	Avg. Daily Duration
Full Group and Teacher (with or without aide)	Paper-Instructions	6 min.
	Lessons (Sci/Math/Basic C/Lang. Arts)	10 min.
	Story/Movie	12 min.
	Music/Movement	6 min.
	Drill/Practice	7 min.
	Other	2 min.
Small Group and Teacher or aide	ESL/SSL	10 min.
	Skills	19 min.
	Other	2 min.
Individualized	Cooperative: Assigned Seatwork	22 min.
	Independent: Free Time*	7 min.
	*Cooperative Subevents in Free Time:	
	Art Center, Skill Center, System 80	3 min.
	Reading Group	4 min.

in an unvarying part of the room (for example, reading groups held at a specific table in the back of the room). Mrs. Shaw's and Mrs. Blake's arrays of events are displayed in Tables 2 and 3, and are subdivided by the grouping criterion they are organized under.

Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Blake spend roughly the same amount of time within the three broad grouping categories of full group, small group, and individualized

Table 3: Mrs. Blake's Array of Events

Grouping	Event	Avg. Daily Duration
Full Group and Teacher (with or without aide)	Lessons	5 min.
	Activities	5 min.
	Story/Movie	13 min.
	General Meeting (incl. Sharing)	8 min.
	Music/Rhythm	3 min.
	Other (Art)	2 min.
Small Group and Teacher or Aide	Skills	35 min.
	Other	3 min.
Individualized	Cooperative: Book Time	8 min.
	Independent: Free Time*	25 min.
	*Cooperative Subevents in Free Time:	
	Art	2 min.

instruction, but when the arrays of events which subdivide these categories are elicited, the differences in the interactive decisions the teachers make at this level of the interactive hierarchy become apparent. For example, both teachers conduct what they refer to as fullgroup *lessons* and *music* or *movement* activities in their classrooms, but the average amounts of time they spend within these events varies considerably, with Mrs. Shaw spending twice as much time with her class in the lesson event as Mrs. Blake and Mrs. Blake spending twice as much time with her class in the music/movement event as Mrs. Shaw. In the small group category, Mrs. Shaw organizes regular ESL and Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) events in her classroom and Mrs. Blake does not. And in the category of individualized events, while both teachers devote approximately the same amount of daily classtime to this kind of grouping, Mrs. Shaw uses it to give individual assignments of *her own choosing* to the students to complete silently at their seats (*assigned seatwork*), and Mrs. Blake uses it to give the students time to engage in a wide variety of *self-selected* activities (*free time*, which might include blockplay, painting, working puzzles, sewing, etc.). All of these differences have important consequences for differences in the language use and ways of behaving that students display in the two classrooms.

Participant Structures

At the lowest level of the classroom interaction hierarchy are the teachers' interactive decisions regarding the moment-to-moment interaction that is to take place within the various events that the teacher chooses to organize the students' time in school. Participant structures are *etic* units of interaction in that they generally represent the *observer's* conceptualization of how the flow of interaction in a given classroom is being divided up and conducted. As Erickson and Shultz (1981) define them, participant structures are the "differing configurations of concerted action" that occur from moment to moment as the participants in a given event or social situation construct interaction and adjust their definitions of the "rights and obligations" of the participants and their relationships with each other as the event unfolds. Shifts in participant structures may occur quite often during a single event. Often teachers are at least partially aware of these shifts when they make them, and again cue students as to their imminent occurrence (for example, "Now that I've read you this story, I want you to tell me what happened one at a time"). Negotiating a single participant structure involves participants *knowing* or agreeing upon *when* they will interact (turn-taking); *who* they will interact with (the relative status and control of the interaction by various participants within the event); *how* they will interact (the nonverbal dimensions of the interaction such as kinesics, proxemics, gestures and facial expressions, postural configurations, rate of speech, pauses, etc.); and *what* they will interact about (the topic or focus of the moment and the acceptable variations upon or shifts from that topic). Erickson and Shultz describe the various dimensions of participant structures as including "ways of speaking, listening, getting the floor and holding it, and leading and following." The examples of participant structures provided in Figure 1 are very rough approximations of the very intricate but also rhythmic and coordinated shifts in interactive patterns which often occur within a single classroom event and which may be much further subdivided through microanalysis of the visual records (videotapes) of these interactions. Such microanalysis involves analysis of the verbal and nonverbal dimensions of each interaction, the context of the interactions, and the time frame (sequence and duration) of the interactions.

Just as the constitutions and arrays of events that Mrs. Shaw and Mrs. Blake choose differ, so do the participant structures they employ in their daily classroom interaction. This includes the teachers' use of different participant structures within what they perceive to be (and label) the *same* event, such as the *lesson* event, and even within different instances in their *own* teaching of a given event (e.g., Monday's high reading group versus Monday's low reading group, or Monday's high group versus Friday's high group). As a gross illustration, Mrs. Shaw uses two primary types of participant structures in her lessons with students. In the first structure, which resembles a *lecture*, Mrs. Shaw introduces a concept to the students through the presentation of some object or picture and oral explanation and/or demonstration of it. During this participant structure, Mrs. Shaw sits or stands with the children in front of her and the blackboard behind her, and the children are seated on the floor. Mrs. Shaw is the only interlocutor during this participant structure, and children are required in this structure to: (a) remain silent, and (b) keep their apparent attention focused completely on the teacher. If Mrs. Shaw moves, the children must immediately and quietly re-orient themselves to her new position. In the second participant structure of Mrs. Shaw's lessons, a *turn-taking* structure, some or all of the students take turns answering questions about the just-introduced concept or performing some activity (for example, putting colored felt cats with the appropriate color name labels on a felt board) with the teaching materials of the lesson. The number of children in the turn-taking structure and the number of repetitions of this structure within a single lesson depends upon other considerations such as the teacher's perception of the difficulty of the concept being taught. As mentioned before, when the recorded instances of these primary participant structures are subjected to full microanalysis, they may be further subcategorized as one or more of the components of the participant structure are varied (e.g., a turn-taking structure during which children remain motionless and respond orally and a turn-taking structure in which the children go to the teacher and blackboard and perform some operation). Examples of this further subanalysis may be found in Bremme and Erickson (1979), Erickson and Shultz (1981), Enright (1981), and Enright and Woods (1983).

To illustrate how the differences in the participant structures within various events are accompanied by differences in language use, Tables 4 and 5 present the proportions of speech acts defined as utterances or parts of utterances which convey a clear meaning which were measured for the events in which adults were present with their students in Mrs. Shaw's and Mrs. Blake's classrooms over a two-day period.

As might be expected from what is already known about Mrs. Shaw's constitution, the participant structures used in her events differ less than they do with Mrs. Blake, where there is much more room for students to determine the participant structures. This is reflected in the proportions of adult and student speech acts measured within individual events, with Mrs. Shaw's proportions of the speech acts in 8 of the 11 events in which she was present falling into the 60 to 65 percent range, but with Mrs. Blake's proportions in her events ranging from 42.7 per cent to 73.2 percent. Even when Mrs. Blake is recorded in the same event (an English *skills* group) but on three different occasions, there is a considerable difference in her proportion of the discourse (from 52.2 percent to 65.7 percent), and microanalysis of

Table 4: Proportions of Adult and Student Speech Acts in Mrs. Shaw's Recorded Fullgroup (FG) and Smallgroup (SG) Events

Event	Adults			Students
	Teacher %	*Aide %*	*Totals %*	
FG, *Money* (Lesson)	64.8%	7.2%	72.7%	27.3%
FG, *Paper Instr.*	62.2%	2.6%	64.8%	35.2%
SG, *ESL*	64.2%	0.02%	64.1%	35.5%
Sub (SG), *Reading*	64.1%	——	64.1%	35.9%
FG, *Personal Pronouns* (ESL)	62.0%	——	62.0%	37.9%
FG, *Paper Instr.*	62.0%	14.8%	76.8%	23.2%
		(Investig.)		
SG, *English Skills*	60.0%	3.0%	63.0%	37.0%
FG, *Zoo Review* (Lesson)	60.0%	1.5%	61.6%	38.4%
FG, *Letter Practice* (Drill)	55.4%	15.0%	70.4%	29.6%
FG, *Jazz Chant* (Language Arts)	57.0%	——	75.0%	43.0%
FG, *Paper Instr.*	76.7%	8.2%	84.9%	15.1%
SG, *Spanish Skills* (Taught by Aide)	——	45.6%	45.6%	54.4%

these occasions indicates clear differences in the participant structures which were utilized on each occasion to conduct the topically similar agenda of the event.

CONCLUSION

In spite of the considerable controversy that has arisen surrounding it, second language instruction for America's language minority children continues to be an important educational issue and one which will continue to experience methodological innovations and empirical examination. At the present time we are unable to fully describe the processes of classroom interaction in general, much less what constitutes *effective* or *productive* or *successful* classroom interaction, or what the particular dynamics and processes of bilingual and second language learning interaction involve. In addition to measuring the effects of particular instructional approaches on student learning outcomes, researchers must work to "unpackage" (Scribner, 1981) these approaches and to provide accurate descriptions of what they

Table 5: Proportions of Adult and Student Speech Acts in Mrs. Blake's Recorded Fullgroup (FG) and Smallgroup (SG) Events

Event	Adults			Students
	Teacher %	*Aide %*	*Totals %*	
SG, *Skills*	52.2%	——	52.2%	47.8%
SG, *Skills*	65.7%	——	65.7%	34.4%
		(Parent)		
SG, *Skills*	64.3%	4.1%	68.4%	31.6%
FG, *Math Lesson*	62.3%	1.1%	63.4%	36.6%
FG, *Planting* (Activity)	42.7%	0.2%	42.9%	57.1%
FG, *Story Book* (Story)	73.2%	——	73.2%	26.8%

actually entail. This paper has been one effort to provide a tentative portrayal of what is known about such processes today and to provide a framework for additional inquiry. Using the technological tools of videotaping and the methodological tools of microethnography (see Erickson, 1982), researchers are just beginning to construct the detailed, multifaceted description of the processes of classroom interaction which is required to develop further insights into how to improve that interaction and use it to facilitate LES students' second language acquisition. In general, when researchers are able to thoroughly conceptualize and describe the *means* which teachers employ to achieve their educational *ends*, they may eventually be able to help teachers adjust their means to better meet those same ends.

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Contrasts in Teachers' Language Use In a Chinese-English Bilingual Classroom[1]

Larry F. Guthrie

LANGUAGE USE IN CLASSROOMS

In recent years, research on language use in classrooms has focused less on the strictly linguistic aspects of language than on the uses to which language is put and the functions it serves. How teachers and students *use* language may have more to do with the way children learn, and by the same token, the miscommunication, misunderstanding, and educational difficulty students encounter (Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Hymes, 1972, 1974; Guthrie & Hall, 1983; Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1981). Much of this work has concentrated on the differential treatment of students in lower proficiency groups (Good & Brophy, 1974; Cherry, 1978; McDermott, 1976; Rist, 1973).

In addition, if there is a discontinuity between the students' home language use and that required for success at school, then the opportunities for success for those students are reduced (Guthrie & Hall, 1983; Hall & Guthrie, 1982). Students of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, for example, act and use language according to the rules of their community and culture while at home; in the school, a different set of rules is operative. The degree to which interactions within that group are compatible with the students' native ways of communicating and organizing interactions should facilitate learning; the degree to which miscommunication is minimized should also contribute to student success.

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Effective use of language by teachers with limited-English-speaking children (LES) has been the subject of considerable debate. Much of the discussion and research has focused on the relative amounts of English and the students' first language a teacher should use (e.g., Baker & deKanter, 1982; Legarretta-Marcaida, 1981; Milk, 1981). Some attention has also been given to comparisons of teachers' instruction and language use across different student groups. In a study of Hispanic Americans, Moll, Diaz, Estrada, & Lopes (in press) examined the language use of two teachers, only one of whom spoke Spanish, with the same group of children. They found that the teacher who did not speak the students' first language provided lessons at a lower level of difficulty than did the Spanish-speaking teacher. Apparently, the Anglo teacher underestimated the Spanish-speaking students' abilities because he himself did not speak Spanish. Mohatt and Erickson (1981) compared the cultural congruence of two teachers with their Native-American students, only one of whom was of the same culture as the students. Their conclusion was that the Native-American teacher and her students revealed a "shared sense of pacing" in their behavior that was at first absent in the other teacher's class (p. 112).

Previous research on language use in the classroom has focused on children from several different cultural and ethnolinguistic groups. These have included Hawaiians (Au, 1980; Boggs, 1972); Hebrew-speakers (Enright, Ramirez, & Jacobs, 1981-82); Hispanics (Carrasco, Vera & Cazden, 1981; Mehan, 1979; Moll, Diaz, Estrada, & Lopes, in press; Duran, 1981; Erickson, Cazden, Carrasco, & Guzman, 1979); and Native Americans (Mohatt & Erickson, 1981; Philips, 1972).

With the exception of the work by Fillmore (1981, 1982) and Pung Guthrie (1982, in press), language use of Chinese students and their teachers has been largely ignored. While considerable information is available on language use in monolingual classrooms, and to a lesser extent, on that in Hispanic bilingual situations, very little is known about how Chinese children and their teachers construct interactions. It is often assumed that because Asian-Americans have a reputation for high achievement, their children experience little educational difficulty. This attitude obscures the fact that large numbers of recent immigrants from Asia face serious problems in communicating and learning to speak and read English.

This study involved a detailed examination of the language use of two teachers of a group of Chinese-American first-graders (For a more complete account, see Guthrie, 1983). The students alternated each half-day between a Chinese bilingual teacher and a teacher who did not speak Chinese. The circumstances thus provided a rare opportunity to examine the language of two different teachers with the same LES children. The first of these teachers was bilingual and biliterate in English and Cantonese, and of the same cultural background as the students. She had immigrated to the U.S. at the age of nine, and both her Cantonese and English were native-like. I will call her Mrs. W. The second teacher was an anglo male who had taught in Spanish-English bilingual programs, but had little prior experience with Chinese students. I refer to him as Mr. M. Both were experienced teachers.

The basic question which directed the research sought an indepth description of the classroom interaction between Chinese-American children and their teachers. How do teachers orchestrate lessons and how, in turn, do students respond? What variation, in both teacher and student language, is found across instructional groups?

METHOD

Sociolinguistic methods were used to uncover the ways in which Cantonese-speaking children and their teachers constructed their interactions and used language. First, target students and speech events (lessons) were identified. Next, the naturally occurring speech in sample lessons was recorded, transcribed, and analyzed. The procedures employed are described in more detail below. First, however, is a brief description of the setting in which the study was conducted.

Setting

The setting for the study was an elementary school with a predominantly Chinese population. The school was located near a large Chinatown community on the west coast.

There were approximately 644 students enrolled in Chinatown Elementary at the time of this study. The school population is relatively stable, but there are periodic influxes of new immigrant and refugee students from the Oriental Education Center where most new immigrants go first. Almost half the school population was Chinese; the remainder of the students were largely Spanish surname, other Oriental (primarily Vietnamese), and Black. Because of the ethnic quota system operative within the district, the school is now officially *closed* to new Chinese students, except those who live within the most immediate neighborhood. Most of the Chinese students at Chinese Elementary are classified as either limited-English-speaking (LES) or non-English-speaking (NES). These students, in turn, are placed in either a bilingual or regular class.

Subjects

Subjects were eleven first-grade Chinese-American students, selected on the basis of English language proficiency. Prior to data collection, each teacher was asked to rank all students in the class on a four-point scale of oral English language proficiency (Fuentes & Wisenbaker, 1979). The bilingual teacher also provided similar information on students' Chinese proficiency. These judgments were then verified through observations of potential target students. In this way, five students ranked at the low end of the scale (1–2), four ranked at the middle of the scale (3), and two fluent English speakers were selected.

Lessons

Two types of lessons were selected for analysis in this report, *reading in English* with the bilingual teacher and *oral language* in the anglo teacher's class. Although the lesson content and focus differed somewhat across the teachers' lessons, they were in many respects comparable. For two weeks prior to taping, classroom observers took descriptive fieldnotes and coded for activity structures (Bossert, 1978). These two lessons were found to be compatible in that they were both teacher-directed, student membership was approximately the same, and both teachers organized lessons around a basic question/answer format. Descriptions of the typical organization of each teacher's lesson follow.

Reading. Reading lessons were conducted in much the same way with each of the two groups. Mrs. W usually began by writing a list of vocabulary words on the board near the reading table. She then would introduce each word and ask students to read and say the words as a group. Individual students were then called on to read all the vocabulary words aloud. The next task for the reading lesson would involve using the student text or the accompanying story posters. Each poster contained a picture on the top and a story below. When she used the poster, the teacher would ask the students to look at the picture first, then describe it. Together, they would then read the story on the poster. When she used the book, she adopted the same approach as with the poster, beginning with a description of the picture, followed by reading. The final step in the typical reading lesson would be to ask the children to read the text silently, after which she asked them comprehension questions. To answer these, students were allowed to read an appropriate phrase or sentence from the text. Throughout the reading lesson, if students stumbled over a word, the teacher read it out and asked the student to repeat.

Oral Language. Mr. M divided his class for oral language into two instructional groups on the basis of oral English proficiency, low and a combination of middle and high. However, during the oral language period, only that group being taught by the teacher remained in the classroom; the other group met with another instructor in a different room. The overall procedures employed with each group were much the same.

The low group consisted of six students who sat in their assigned seats. For oral language, the teacher would join the group by pulling up an additional chair. Very often the lesson began with picture flash cards, which students were required to identify and describe.

The middle/high group was composed of nine students. They all sat at a table in the center of the room, where only the middle group students normally sat. The teacher brought his own chair when he joined the group. Once again, the teacher usually began with picture flash cards, which the students were to identify.

Data Collection

Audiotape recordings were made through the use of a Marantz recorder, with two lavaliere microphones placed in the middle of each group's table. Two data collectors were present during each taping session, both fluent speakers of Cantonese and English. One data collector took fieldnotes on the activities of the focal group, recording information on the physical arrangement of the group, important nonverbal behaviors, the text materials used, and other contextual information. The other data collector, meanwhile, monitored the audiotape through earphones and wrote down names and utterance fragments of speakers throughout the interaction to aid in subsequent transcription.

Transcription

The audiotape recording of each lesson was transcribed by the data collector who monitored that taping session. The handwritten transcript was then entered into an IBM Personal Computer used for the analysis. Those utterances in Chinese were transcribed in Chinese, and an English translation was provided in brackets. Descriptions of nonverbal behavior were included in parentheses.

Coding

Utterances were coded using a system of Conversational-acts (C-acts) developed by Dore (1977) and employed in several studies of children's language use (Cole, Dore, Hall & Dowley, 1978; Dore, Gearhart & Newman, 1978; Guthrie, 1981; Hall & Cole, 1978). C-acts represent a taxonomy of speech act types which code utterances according to (1) the grammatical structure of the utterance, (2) its illocutionary properties, and (3) its general semantic or propositional content.

Because of the different nature and focus of the present research, some modifications were made in the system as used in previous studies. These included both the addition and deletion of certain codes. The revised list of codes, definitions, and examples is presented in the Appendix.

Forty-nine separate speech acts, each assigned a three-letter code, comprise the Conversational-act system. These are grouped into six broad function types: (1) Assertions, which solicit information or actions; (2) Organizational Devices, which control personal contact and conversational flow; (3) Performatives, which accomplish acts by being said; (4) Requests, which solicit information or actions; and (5) Responses, which supply solicited information or acknowledge remarks (Dore et al., 1978, pp. 372–3). An additional category of special speech acts which codes microphone talk, laughing, singing, etc. is also included. Conversational-acts serving the Request function, for example, include Requests for Action (QAC), Product Requests (QPR), and Requests for Permission (QPM).

Coding proceeded as follows. First, the grammatical form and its literal semantic meaning were determined. Then a judgment was made as to the conventional force, or purpose, of the utterance. In this step, sequencing, reference, and other conversational cues, such as marked illocutionary devices and intonation, were taken into consideration. Utterances were thus placed first within the six broad function types, and then categorized as an individual Conversational-act. Throughout the coding, the contextual information contained in fieldnotes provided an additional check for the validity.

Initial coding was conducted by the data collector who observed a particular lesson. To ensure inter-coder agreement, each taped session was then coded a second time by another member of the research team, all of whom had engaged in two weeks of training and practice. Discrepancies were resolved through discussion. Throughout the coding process, inter-coder agreement for individual lessons ranged from .90 to .96. Although utterances in Chinese were translated into English and entered as data, all coding was done on the original Chinese.

Analyses

Out of a corpus of nearly six hours (340 minutes) of audiotape data, a total of 19 lessons/events were selected for analysis; Eleven reading lessons totaling 185 minutes, and eight oral language lessons totaling 155 minutes, were examined.

Each utterance within these lessons was coded according to four variables, (1) the speaker, (2) speaker's oral English proficiency, (3) language of the utterance, and (4) the Conversational-act (C-act) of the utterance. This resulted in a total of 15,753 coded utterances.

The frequency and proportion of C-acts performed by each speaker in each lesson were calculated, so that possible differences in the relative use of C-acts across lessons and student proficiency groups were available. The results of these quantitative analyses are given in detail in the final report of the project (Guthrie, 1983). Briefly, the findings may be summarized as follows.

FINDINGS

The bilingual teacher was remarkably consistent in her use of language with the two groups of students. Despite certain variations, the distributions of C-acts were comparable overall. In the lessons taught by Mr. M on the other hand, the patterns of C-act use across language proficiency groups were quite distinct. With the higher group, the arrays of C-acts within lessons were similar to those found in Mrs. W's class. Interactions with the lower group, however, were characterized by a higher proportion of Attention Getters (OAG), Requests for Action (RAG), and Protests (PPR). Taken in combination, these Conversational-acts describe lessons in which there is a certain lack of control. What was not available in the reported proportions, however, was clear evidence for what these aspects of language use entail in practice. From the quantitative data, the effect of turn-taking mechanisms employed in the groups, for instance, could not be determined. To further examine this possibility, and explore the data for others, a detailed qualitative examination of the data was undertaken. This involved a careful reading of transcripts supplemented by occasional referral to the original tape.

Findings revealed important differences along the dimensions of instructional organization and the use of L1 in instruction. Because of space limitations, the first of these will be given only brief comment here (for a more complete treatment, see Guthrie, 1983). The remainder of the paper concentrates on the nature and importance of L1 use in instruction.

In short, at least two aspects of Mr. M's instructional organization were found to be contributing to the confusion in the lower group: the clarity of the instructions and rules for interaction. With the higher group, the task and interactional demands were made explicit. With those more limited in English proficiency, he was often vague about what students were to do and appeared to have no established system of distributing turns. His questions were cast out upon the table to be picked up by anyone.

Use of L1 in Instruction

Perhaps the most important source of difference between the two instructors was in the use of the children's first language. This is an area that has been widely studied and discussed (Duran, 1981; Gumperz, 1982; Valdes-Fallis, 1977), but little attention has been given to the actual purposes to which teachers put L1. In this study, instances in the reading lessons in which Mrs. W employed L1 were examined in context. Possible reasons why she might have chosen to alternate language were then developed and discussed with the teacher.

Clearly, Mrs. W did not employ Chinese to any great degree in her reading lessons. The quantitative analysis revealed an average of less than seven percent over all such sampled lessons. This is in contrast to her language use in other lessons and throughout the day, when she frequently made use of the language. Research has shown, however, that code-switching or language alternation among bilinguals is seldom random and usually has a purpose, albeit unconscious. This appeared to be the case with Mrs. W, for while she used Chinese very rarely in English reading lessons, when she did it was for a distinct reason. She told us later that she tried to avoid using Chinese during those lessons, and was somewhat surprised to find she had used L1 as much as she had. In retrospect, however, when examining the transcripts, the various purposes to which she put the language were quite obvious to her.

Mr. M, of course, never spoke Chinese with the students, but perhaps more telling was the fact that he often sanctioned students when they did. In many cases, what students said in Chinese was related to the lesson task. Unable to tell whether it was or not, however, Mr. M frequently shushed students he caught speaking Chinese, assuming they were not paying attention. In one lesson, for instance, the group was discussing the seal they had seen at the aquarium. One student said the seal was fat, and Mr. M agreed. But when another repeated that in Chinese, he quietened her.

Speaker	C-act	Utterance (15:754–758)
Student 13	ADC	He too fat.
Mr. M	RAG	He's too fat.
	OBM	Now.
Student 12	ADC	*Hou feih.* (So fat.)
Mr. M	PPR	Sh-h-h!

The analysis of Mrs. W's use of Chinese revealed that she employed it for at least five distinct purposes: (1) for translation, (2) as a *we-code*, (3) for procedures and directions, (4) for clarification, and (5) to check for understanding. The first three of these were employed in several of the lessons, but not with the frequency of the final two, and will therefore only be briefly described. First, Mrs. W used Chinese to translate particular words which students appeared not to know or were obviously beyond the range of their vocabulary. Once, for example, she used the word "aisles," but provided the Chinese equivalent as well in order to maintain students' understanding. Second, she used Chinese as what Gumperz (1982) has termed a "we-code," a language which indicates group membership and personal connections. In one instance, for example, where the reading group was becoming disruptive, Mrs. W tried several times in English to get the students to behave. She finally pleaded in Chinese "don't be this way" thus appealing to them as an insider. Third, she occasionally gave procedures and directions in Chinese, e.g., to get students to use a key word in a complete sentence. The fourth and fifth uses of Chinese were to clarify and explain concepts presented in English and to check for student understanding. These final two will be treated in more detail.

Clarification. One of the new vocabulary words introduced to the middle and high groups was the word "lost." Mrs. W took care to make sure the groups understood what the word meant and in what ways it contrasted with the Chinese words for the same thing. In one lesson, two of the students appeared to confuse the transitive and intransitive uses of the English word and said, for example, "I lost one day" (18:332). In Chinese, this confusion is not possible, since there is a different lexical item for each meaning. Mrs. W paused at one point to help the group map these meanings onto the two forms in English.

Speaker	C-act	Utterance (18:451–468)
Mrs. W	QPR	What does I lost my pencil mean?
Student 23	RPR	*Ngoh mhginjo ngo 'ige bat.* (I don't see my pen.)
Mrs. W	RAG	Okay.
	OFS	Where does, uh . . . .
Student 25	TRA	*Mhgin yuhnbat.* (Don't see pencil.)
Mrs. W	ADC	I was lost in the park.
	QCH	*Haih mhhaih mhginjo neih jinhgei a?* (Does it mean you don't see yourself?)
	QCHRPC	Does it mean that?
Student 23	RPC	*Ngoh mhginjo hai hai* park. (I can't be seen in the park.)
Mrs. W	AEX	*Mhginjo jikhaih dohng-sat-louh gam gaai.* (Can't be seen means got lost.)
	ORQ	Okay?
	AEX	*Mhhaih wah mhginjo.* (It doesn't mean don't see.)

Check for Understanding. Mrs. W also used Chinese to check for understanding. It appeared from the observations and the tapes that, at certain points, she sensed that one or more of the group did not quite understand. She thus switched to Cantonese or asked for a Cantonese equivalent from the students. In the following excerpt from a low group lesson, students were reading English vocabulary words off the board. Suddenly she stopped and asked in Cantonese for the meaning of "likes." Students' responses reveal they had confused "likes" with "lights." The teacher then attempted to clarify using English: "He likes the dog."

Speaker	C-act	Utterance (16:230–245)
Student 11	RVB	Little . . . .
	RVB	Like . . . .
	RVB	Likes . . . .
Mrs. W	QPR	Likes *dim gaai a!* (What does "likes" mean?)
Student 11	RPR	*Dang.* (Light.)
Mrs. W	OCQ	*Ha?* (What?)
Student 13	RPR	*Hoi dang.* (Turn on lights.)
Student 11	RPR	*Dang.* (Lights.)
Mrs. W.	RAG	No. *Mhhaih.* (No.)
	AEX	It's not lights.
	QVB	Likes.
	ADC	He likes the dog.
Student 11	RPR	*Ngoc Jungyi.* (I like.)
Mrs. W	RAG	Okay.
	RAG	*Ngoc Jungyi.* (I like.)

This example points up an additional benefit of the teacher's facility with Cantonese. By using the students' first language, she was able to ferret out those areas of confusion and misunderstanding. By asking directly for the equivalent word in Cantonese, Mrs. W quickly and efficiently assessed how well the students understood. This strategy is not available to the monolingual English speaker. If a teacher not proficient in Cantonese sensed the same lack of understanding, he or she could of course ask the student to provide an English synonym or use the word in a sentence. For the limited English proficient student, however, these techniques would often be ineffectual, particularly with students like Wilson (Student 11). As Mrs. W put it, he needed a lot of "language support;" he was uncomfortable using English and insecure about it. Had he therefore been asked to use "likes" or "lights" in a sentence, it is unlikely that he could have come up with *any* response in English, much less an appropriate one. His level of understanding would still have been a mystery.

DISCUSSION

This study considered in detail the interaction and language use of two teachers with a group of Chinese-American first-graders. In both the quantitative analysis of Conversational-act frequencies and proportions, and in the subsequent qualitative analysis, knowledge of the students' first language appeared to be critically important. The coding of C-acts was revealing in that it provided insights into overall patterns of language use in various lessons. It showed Mrs. W, for example, to be consistent in the distribution of C-acts she used with students having different levels of English language proficiency. The speech of Mr. M, on the other hand, who did not know Chinese, formed a quite different pattern with the limited English proficient students. C-acts having to do with sanctioning, attention-getting, and protesting occurred in higher frequency with the lower group, and together, appeared to indicate a lack of control.

The manner in which speakers put various C-acts together was examined through the qualitative analysis of transcripts and tapes. One focus was on the teachers' use of the students' L1. Mr. M, of course, spoke no Chinese and was thus unable to communicate with the children in their first and dominant language. An unfortunate outcome of this situation was that he often sanctioned the use of Chinese, since, as far as he could tell, the student speech was unrelated to lesson tasks. An examination of the transcripts revealed, however, that students sometimes answered in Chinese or gave brief explanations or hints to their classmates in that language.

Mrs. W made a conscious effort to use Chinese as little as possible during English reading; she used it much more in other lessons or in transitions. Chinese thus accounted for only a small portion of her speech in the reading lessons—less than seven percent. Nevertheless, the data show she carefully selected those occasions on which she did, and she employed Chinese for a variety of purposes, including translation, as a *we-code* for solidarity, and for procedures. Most frequently, however, she used the students' language to clarify or to check for understanding. Her use of the language revealed a sensitivity to the variable meanings in Chinese and English that made it possible for her to pick out likely sources of confusion. This is not to say, however, that she had conducted a contrastive analysis of the two languages. She simply recognized the points at which students might have difficulty; perhaps because she herself had learned English as a second language.

This was something Mr. M could not do. Even when students were obviously confused, he was often unable to get at the root of the problem because of the language barrier. Many times the confusion arose because students in the lower group had difficulty making themselves understood, and lacked the English skills necessary to rephrase their statements. Clearly, then, had Mr. M been able to better communicate with the LEP students, he might have avoided the frequent loss of student attention.

The data from Mr. M's class serve to point up just how difficult teaching non- and limited-English-speaking children can be for teachers who do not speak their students' first language. The task of communicating with them becomes formidable indeed. This fact has serious implications for staffing in bilingual programs. Good arguments can be made for employing an alternate-day (or half-day) model, e.g., students are exposed to native speakers of both languages. However, in cases like that of this study, where students speak very little English, a single bilingual teacher might have an advantage. This is not to say, of course, that monolingual teachers might not also be effective with NES/LES students. Some of the features of Mrs. W's teaching, for example do not require a high level of *proficiency* in the students' L1. A monolingual teacher who has some *knowledge* of how the students' L1 operates and an appreciation that the students may be using the L1 on task, could employ some helpful strategies. Use of the students' L1 simply stands as another valuable resource available to the bilingual teacher.

Some monolingual teachers have been known to delegate the instruction of NES/LES students to a bilingual instructional aide (Fillmore, 1982; Pung Guthrie, in press) but unless the aide is fully bilingual, and a competent instructor besides, this would not appear to be an improved solution. The effective use of L1, even in English reading lessons, requires more than just a working knowledge of the language. To be able to identify points of possible confusion and clarify them as Mrs. W did, a teacher must be highly proficient in both Cantonese and English. Therefore, in staffing primary grade classes with limited- and non-English speaking children, serious consideration should be given to the overall bilingual proficiency of the teacher.

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APPENDIX

Codes, Definitions, and Examples of Conversational-Acts

Code	Definition and Examples
	Assertives report facts, state rules, convey attitudes, etc.
AAT	*Attributions* report beliefs about another's internal state: "He does not know the answer."; "He wants to."; "He can't do it."
ADC	*Descriptions* predicate events, properties, locations, etc. of objects or people: "The car is red."; "It fell on the floor."; "We did it."; "We have a boat."
AEV	*Evaluations* express personal judgments or attitudes: "That's good."
AEX	*Explanations* state reasons, causes, justifications, and predictions: "I did it because it's fun."; "It won't stay up there."
AID	*Identifications* label objects events, people, etc.: "That's a car."; "I'm Robin."
AIR	*Internal Reports* express emotions, sensations, intents, and other mental events: "I like it."; "It hurts."; "I'll do it."; "I know."
APR	*Predictives* states expectations about future events, actions, etc.: "I'll give it to you tomorrow."; "It'll arrive later this week."
ARU	*Rules* state procedures, definitions, "social rules," etc.: It goes in here."; "We don't fight in school."; "That happens later."
	Organizational Devices control personal contact and conversational flow.
OAC	*Accompaniments* maintain contact by supplying information redundant with respect to some contextual feature: "Here you are"; "There you go."
OAG	*Attention Getters* solicit attention: "Hey!"; "John!"; "Look!"
OBM	*Boundary Markers* indicate openings, closings, and shifts in the conversation "Okay"; "All right"; "By the way."

OCQ	*Clarification Questions* seek clarification of prior remark: "What?"
OEX	*Exclamations* express surprise, delight, or other attitudes: "Oh!"; "Wow!"
OFL	*Fillers* enables a speaker to maintain a turn: ". . . well . . ."; ". . . and uh . . ."
OFS	*False Starts* indicate aborted utterances: "We . . . they"
OPM	*Politeness Markers* indicate ostensible politeness: "Please"; "Thank you."
ORQ	*Rhetorical Questions* seek acknowledgement to continue: "Know what?"
OSS	*Speaker Selections* label speaker of next turn: "John"; "You."
OVP	*Verbal Play* indicate language in which meaning is secondary to play.

Performatives accomplish acts (and establish facts) by being said.

PBT	*Bets* express conviction about a future event: "I bet you can't do it."
PCL	*Claims* establish rights for speaker: "That's mine"; "I'm first."
PJO	*Jokes* cause humorous effect by stating incongrous information, usually patently false: "We throwed the soup in the ceiling."
PPR	*Protests* express objections to hearer's behavior: "Stop!"; "No!"
PTE	*Teases* annoy, taunt, or playfully provoke a hearer: "You can't get me."
PWA	*Warnings* alert hearer of impending harm: "Watch out!"; "Be careful!"

Requestives solicit information or actions.

QAC	*Action Requests* seek the performance of an action by hearer: "Give me it!"; "Put the toy down!"
QCH	*Choice Questions* seek either-or judgments relative to propositions: "Is this an apple?"; "Is it red or green?"; "Okay?"; "Right?"
QMA	*Requests for Mental Action* seek specific mental activity by the hearer: "Think"; "Remember."
QPC	*Process Questions* Seek extended descriptions or explanations: "Why did he go?" "How did it happen?"; "What about him?"
QPM	*Permission Requests* seek permission to perform action: "May I go?"
QPR	*Product Questions* seek information relative to most "WH" interrogatives" "Where's John?"; "What happened?"; "Who?" "When?"
QSU	*Suggestions* recommend the performance of an action by hearer or speaker or both: "Let's do it!"; "Why don't you do it?"; "You should do it."
QVB	*Verbal Action Requests* seek performance part of an instructional routine such as reading aloud, conducting language-learning exercises, repeating, or spelling: "Read this word"; "Repeat after me"; "I go, you go, he . . ."

Responsives supply solicited information or acknowledge remarks.

RAG	*Agreements* agree or disagree with prior non-requestive act: "No, it is not!"; "I don't think you're right."
RAK	*Acknowledgements* recognize prior non-requestives and are non-commital: "Oh"; "Yeah."
RCH	*Choice Answers* provide solicited judgments of propositions: "Yes."
RCL	*Clarification Responses* provide solicited confirmations: "I said no."
RCO	*Compliances* express acceptance, denial, or acknowledgement of requests: "Okay"; "Yes"; "I'll do it."
RPC	*Process Answers* provide solicited explanations: "I wanted to."
RPR	*Product Answers* provide Wh-information: "John's here"; "It fell."
RQL	*Qualifications* provide unsolicited information to requestives: "But I didn't do it"; "This is not an apple."
RVB	*Response to Requests for Verbal Action* provides solicited speech, such as reading aloud, repeating in chorus, or spelling.

Special Speech Acts are prescribed utterances expressed in a special way.	
SAC	*Counting* indicates naming numerals or counting objects.
SAL	*Laughing* codes laughter.
SAS	*Singing* indicates singing, either words or sounds.
MKE	*Microphone talk* codes speech directed at the tape recorder microphone, often silly or nonsensical.
NVB	*Nonverbals* code important nonverbal acts.
TRA	*Translation* codes conscious, direct translations.
UNT	*Uninterpretables* indicate uncodable utterances.

Formulaic Speech in Early Classroom Second Language Development[1]

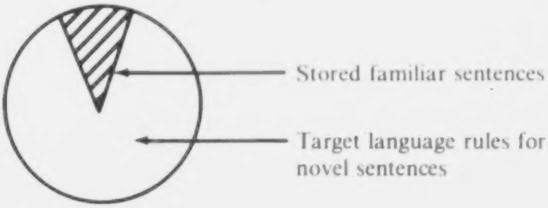
Rod Ellis

INTRODUCTION

Formulaic speech consists of "expressions which are learned as unanalysable wholes and employed on particular occasions by native speakers" (Lyons, 1968:177). Examples given by Lyons are "How do you do?" and proverbs such as "Easy come and easy go." The main characteristic of such utterances is that "their internal structure, unlike that of genuine sentences, is not accounted for by means of rules which specify the permissable combinations of words" (Lyons, 1968:177). In other words formulaic expressions and grammatical sentences are alternative ways of expressing meaning. Steinberg (1982) captures this rather nicely by referring to these alternative means as *familiar sentences* and *novel sentences* respectively.

Formulaic speech is not uncommon in native-speaker speech, but it is, probably, even more common in the speech of second language (L2) learners. Referring to native-speaker speech Lyons considers formulaic speech relatively infrequent compared to "the vast mass of more *normal* utterances" (Lyons: 177). The competence of native speakers, therefore, can be represented as in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Native-speaker linguistic competence


Stored familiar sentences
Target language rules for novel sentences

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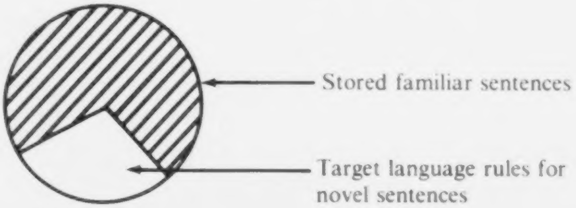
[1] I would like to thank Jean Handscombe for helpful comments on the earlier draft of this paper.

In contrast L2 learners in the early stages of development know relatively few target language (TL) rules for either reception or production and so their linguistic competence must be characterised by a much larger proportion of stored formulaic speech, as represented in Figure 2. One of the major aims of this paper is to illustrate the importance of formulaic speech in the early L2 acquisition of learners in an ESL classroom.

Figure 2: Early L2 speaker linguistic competence


Stored familiar sentences
Target language rules for novel sentences

There are three issues relating to formulaic speech in L2 acquisition that I wish to examine. The first concerns the extent to which it occurs in the early speech of ESL learners. The frequency of formulaic speech in L2 performance is generally recognised. Formulaic speech figures prominently in the early acquisition of English by young children in informal environments (Huang and Hatch, 1978; Hakuta, 1974; Wagner-Gough, 1975; Fillmore, 1976) and also by adults (Hanania and Gradman, 1977; Huebner, 1980). However, all these studies describe naturalistic acquisition. I shall consider the different kinds of formulaic speech used by three classroom learners.

The second issue concerns the role of formulaic speech in L2 development. Any consideration of this issue involves both the contribution of formulaic speech to learner *performance* and to the *acquisition* of the creative rule system. It is important to keep these separate. Thus it is possible to conclude that formulaic speech contributes positively to the learner's productive capacity but plays no part in the development of the rule system. On the basis of this separation it is possible to formulate a strong position regarding the contribution of formulaic speech (i.e. it aids *both* performance and acquisition) and a weak position (i.e. it aids *only* performance). Even if the weak position is adopted, however, I believe a convincing case can be made out for allocating formulaic speech an important role in the L2 development of ESL learners, particularly in the beginning stages.

There is general acceptance that L2 performance is aided and enhanced by formulaic speech. Krashen (1982) argues that it serves, like the use of the mother tongue, as a means of "outperforming competence." For Krashen "ability to peform" and "competence" are distinct, the latter relating solely to knowledge of the creative rule system. Krashen accepts, however, that L2 users need to communicate beyond the means provided by their competence and thus accepts that formulaic speech has a role, albeit a limited one, to play. It can improve overall performance both by compensating for deficiencies in knowledge of the creative rule system and also by helping to solve production difficulties. A reasonable hypothesis is that utterances produced with reference to their underlying rule system take longer to process than when they are produced as wholes. Thus formulaic speech is useful to the language performer because it relieves the burden placed on the processing mechanisms. This point is skilfully put by Steinberg (1982: 123):

> The fact that speakers are able to produce and understand sentences at the fantastic rate they do could never be explained, if we suppose that every sentence had to be constructed through application of all related rules.

Thus, *familiar phrases and sentences* facilitate processing by making available direct meaning-bond associations.

Steinberg's comments refer to native-speaker performance. The need for processing relief in L2 speaker performance is that much greater. Thus the extent to which learners use formulaic speech may be the function of three factors:

(1) The user's need to *outperform competence*.
(2) The degree of automaticity of acquired TL rules.
(3) The degree of pressure placed on the processing mechanisms by the type of discourse the learner is engaging in (i.e. the more unplanned the discourse type, the greater the need for ready-made utterances).

There is no concensus regarding the nature and the extent of the contribution made by formulaic speech to the *acquisition* of the creative rule system. Two basic positions are held. The first states that formulaic speech and rule-created speech are unrelated. The following might be considered as evidence for this position:

(1) In the initial stages of language development formulaic speech is by definition unrelated to rule-created speech i.e., formulaic speech contains structural elements which are not evident in propositional speech.
(2) There is neurological evidence from cases of left hemispherectomy of patients who lose the ability to speak but are nevertheless still able to produce automatic speech consisting of stereotyped expressions (Krashen and Scarcella, 1978). It has been suggested that formulaic speech might be represented in the right hemisphere and creative speech in the left.
(3) The fact that native-speakers continue to make extensive use of formulaic utterances indicates that these may be protected from analysis throughout the period of language acquisition. Thus a common utterance such as "What's this?" could be derived in two different ways—from the store of formulaic utterances available to the speaker and from the store of creative rules. Which way is followed may simply reflect the amount of processing time available in different situations.

The alternative position—that adopted by Clark (1974) in the case of first language acquisition and Fillmore (1976) in L2 acquisition—is that formulaic utterances are eventually analysed into their component parts and thereby contribute to the learner's creative rule system. In a way this proposal confers the analytical skills of the linguist on the language learner.

The third issue to be examined in this paper concerns the role of formulaic speech in teaching. The traditional focus of language teaching is grammar i.e. the creative rule system. This has been the case whether the linguistic theory on which the teaching is based has been structural/behavioural, transformational/mentalist or communicative/interactionist and whether the language teaching methodology has been inductive, deductive or communicative. The centrality of grammar in language teaching is evident in the vast majority of methods currently employed in the teaching of second or foreign languages including so called *humanistic* methods (for example, Curran, 1976) and those linked with the notional/functional approach (for example, Wilkins, 1976) as well as, more obviously, traditional audiolingual methods. I wish to suggest that grammar might not be as important as formulaic speech in at least the early L2 development of some ESL learners and that emphasis placed on developing grammatical rules may be misplaced with such beginners.

To summarise, the three issues I wish to consider are the uses of formulaic utterances in the speech of L2 beginners, the role that formulaic speech plays in L2 development and the extent to which it should be incorporated into a teaching programme. The focus will be on ESL classroom learners.

TYPES OF FORMULAIC SPEECH

It is not easy to distinguish speech consisting of familiar sentences from speech consisting of novel sentences. Huang and Hatch (1978) discuss this problem of identification and point to a number of criteria that might be used. "Imitated sentences" (their term for formulaic speech) are grammatical, the learner displays no awareness of smaller units within the sentences and there is no recombination of words or morphemes into sentences. These are the criteria that will be applied in the following analysis.

Formulaic speech can be classified in terms of both functional and formal categories. Functional descriptions are possible because each formulaic utterance is typically associated with a specific illocutionary meaning. Thus Garvey (1977: 43) notes formulaic speech consists of "predictable utterance sequences that serve a single or limited role, and are restricted to particular positions or specialized functions in respect to conversation or interaction." Perhaps the most complete functional taxonomy of formulaic speech is provided by Yorio (1980). He distinguishes the following functional types:

(1) *Situation formulas*
formulaic utterances associated with a specific situation ("I thought you'd never ask")

(2) *Stylistic formulas*
formulaic utterances associated with a particular style ("Ladies and gentlemen . . .")

(3) *Ceremonial formulas*
formulaic utterances used in ritualistic interactions (different forms of address)

(4) *Gambits*
formulaic utterances used to organise interactions or activities. They can be *conversational* ("Guess what!") and *organisational* ("Let's call it a day").

(5) *Euphemisms*

In a formal description of formulaic speech it is useful to distinguish *routines* and *patterns* (Krashen and Scarcella, 1978). Routines refer to whole utterances that are used as unanalysed packages. They can consist of words, phrases or sentences but are probably stored in the same way because they lack internal structure.

Patterns are only partially unanalysed. They include one or more *open* slots in a fixed frame. The existence of patterns suggests that formulaic and creative speech may not be dichotomous but polar ends of a continuum on which utterances can be placed that are more or less formulaic/creative.

The notion of formulaic speech, however, need not be restricted to single utterances. It can also refer to discourse stretches that are highly predictable because they are dependent on specific, easily identifiable contexts. An obvious example might be a greeting sequence. This particular interpretation of formulaic speech is similar to the concept of *script* used in first language acquisition research. Nelson and Gruendel (1979), for instance, suggest that children develop *scripts* or regular routines. That is, they form a conceptual representation of a sequence of interactive events, which is stored in long-term memory and then activated in appropriate contexts. L2 learners may also work out scripts which correspond to their communicative needs and which they can easily *lock* into.

Formulaic speech, then, can be described in terms of the communicative functions it serves. Formally it is possible to distinguish routines, patterns and scripts.

METHOD

The data used in this study of formulaic speech in a classroom context were taken from the speech produced by three children during their first year of learning English in a Language Unit in London.

The three children were *J*, an eleven year old Portuguese boy, *R* an eleven year old Pakistani boy and his sister, *T*, who was thirteen years old. At the beginning of the study *J* knew almost no English and *R* and *T* none whatsoever. The two boys had outgoing personalities, but the girl was more withdrawn. *J* mixed with children from other ethnic groups from the start and so was forced to try to use English to communicate with them. In contrast, *R* and *T* spent most of their time both in and out of the classroom with other Punjabi speaking children and so did not need to use English so much. Initially, however, all three children (and in particular the two Pakistani children) were subject to considerable social distancing from a native English speaking community and so were reliant on the environment provided by the Language Unit for an input of English. Once they left the Unit they had no contact with English. Thus, although the three learners acquired English in an ESL situation, they were in many respects in a similar learning context to that which faces EFL learners.

The Language Unit they were sent to functioned as a reception school for recently arrived non-English speaking children. Children were withdrawn from the secondary school at which they initially registered until they had achieved sufficient competence in English to take part in the normal school curriculum. The Unit provided tuition in English but also taught other school subjects such as Maths and Science through the medium of English. English also functioned as the medium of communication in all other school affairs (such as assembly, sports, concerts). Thus the children were exposed to English both inside and outside the classroom.

The children were visited by the researcher on a regular weekly basis during term time. This involved a minimum of one visit per week and often three or more. The procedure followed was to sit in the classes containing the three children and to keep a pencil and paper record of (1) each utterance they produced and (2) the verbal and non-verbal context of each utterance. This method of collecting data was supplemented by audio-recordings. These were often *noisy* as a result of the informal teaching style that prevailed in the classrooms, but provided some useful additional data and also served as a means of verifying the pencil and paper records. In general the presence of a researcher in the classroom did not appear to unduly affect the kind of language produced by the three children. The data that were collected can be considered representative of the kind of language that occurs in withdrawal ESL classrooms.

The corpus used for the study was the *communicative* speech produced by the three children that is, the speech produced when the focus was on meaning rather than form. Excluded were the utterances that occurred during language practice when the underlying purpose was pedagogic rather than communicative. The majority of the utterances produced by the three learners consisted of communicative rather than pedagogic speech. This corpus was carefully inspected and a limited number of formulaic utterances identified using the criteria outlined by Huang and Hatch (1978), already referred to.

RESULTS

Formulaic speech in classroom communication

All three children appeared to rapidly develop a number of formulaic utterances which they used to help them communicate in the everyday activities of classroom interaction. Figure 3 lists some of the most common, using the functional framework provided by Yorio (1980)

Figure 3: Examples of formulaic speech produced by three child classroom learners

Type of formula	Examples
(1) Situation formulas	"Finished" (said after completing a classroom task) "I got none/one/two" etc (referring to the points won in a game) "Very good" (self-congratulating in a game or classroom task)
(2) Stylistic formulas	"Can I have rubber/colour" etc? (requesting goods from teacher or pupil)
(3) Ceremonial formuals	"How are you?" (greeting) "Good morning?" (greeting) "Excuse me, miss/sir" (attracting attention)
(4) Gambits	"This one or this one?" (identifying nature of a task) "What's this?" (asking for object to be identified) "I don't know" (lack of knowledge or ability to respond) "That's all right" (confirming course of action)

Below is a discussion of two of the most commonly used formulaic utterances, which sheds further light on the role played by such utterances in classroom communication.

"I don't know"
This is an example of a *routine*. It was very common in the speech of *R* and *T* but less so in *J's*, although this may simply reflect a bias in the data gathering. The routine was particularly evident in situations where the teacher was questioning an individual pupil, perhaps because a failure to respond was more conspicuous and so less acceptable. "I don't know" served an important discourse function; it helped to fill a turn. In many cases the children's use of the routine was ambiguous. It could be used to indicate that the learner had failed to understand what the teacher had said, or that, despite understanding, the learner could not provide an answer. But its main function seemed to be to take up a discourse slot when the learner felt obliged to take a turn but could not contribute to the propositional development of the conversation. *R* and *T* only use "don't" in the context of this routine for a long time but *J* also used "don't" monomorphemically as an alternative to "not" in directives.

"Can I have __________, please?"
This is an example of a *pattern*. It was used to request goods in the classroom, but it was not the only means of performing this function. Other devices were also used such as:

Colours, sir. (*R*)
Give me one pencil. (*J*)

The empty slot in the pattern was filled by lexical items referring to a range of classroom objects—rubber, pencil, pen, paper, book, paint etc. The auxiliary "can" made its first appearance in this pattern, which was also unique in other ways. It manifested subject-verb inversion when no other utterance produced by the children did so, it made use of only the first person pronoun and it was restricted to the verb "have". It is interesting to note that the almost identical pattern for requesting permission ("Can I __________?") did not occur in the data until much later for *J* and not at all in the first year for *R* and *T*. Apparently the formula was not so much a *form* for the children as a device for performing a specific language *function*.

A rather different kind of communicative role was played by the learners' use of *scripts*. These were more likely to occur in teacher-pupil rather than teacher-class interaction. When the learners were faced with a verbal task that they could not manage, they tended to switch into a familar set of responses which they felt competent to perform. In other words, scripts were used as a means of escaping from communicative pressure imposed by the teacher. *R* was particularly prone to this kind of behaviour (Ellis, 1983). One of his scripts, a colour-identification sequence, is illustrated below. The teacher was showing *R* a "What's Wrong" Picture of a bicycle without any pedals.

T. I want you to tell me what you
can see in the picture or what's
wrong with the picture. Look at that.
R. /pɔi k/ (= bike
T. A cycle, yes.
But what's wrong.
R. /rɛt/ (= red)

---

[2] Phonetic transcription was used whenever a learner utterance was conspicuously different in pronunciation from a British English model.

T. It's red, yes.
What's wrong with it?
R. Black
T. Black. Good.

In this example the teacher's conceptualisation of the task and *R's* script do not match. Although *R's* responses are contextually appropriate to the picture, they do not satisfy the teacher's question. The result is what Keenan and Schieffelin (1977) call "discontinuous discourse." On other occasions, however, the learners' use of scripts produced more successful outcomes.

Later Development of Formulaic Utterances

In both first and second language acquisition research it has been suggested that formulaic speech serves as the basis for creative speech. The learner first comes to realise that the formulaic utterances he initially understood and used as unanalysed wholes consist of discrete constituents which can be combined with other constituents in a variety of rule-bound ways. Clark (1974) gives a number of examples of routine "unproductive sequences" which were rapidly used in the construction of more complex utterances by a child learning English as a first language.

The new structures were the result of juxtaposing existing routines or of embedding one within another. Clark felt that the child's speech became creative predominantly through the gradual analysis of the internal structure of sequences which started off as routines. Fillmore (1976;1979) has taken a very similar position for L2 acquisition. Her research is particularly relevant to this study as her subjects were also school children (aged 5.7 to 7.3 years), but her data were not collected from within the classroom. Fillmore documents a large number of formulas and suggests that over time they are submitted to an analytical process that releases constituent elements for use in other *slots* than those they initially occupied. She suggests that analysis can occur in two ways; by the learner noticing variation in the formulaic structure according to the situation and also by the learner noticing similarities in parts of one set of formulas with those of others. As the constituent elements become freed the learners' utterances become rule-based. However, other commentators have argued that formulaic speech and the development of rule-created speech are unrelated (for example, Krashen and Scarcella, 1978; see p. 3-4 of this paper).

In order to investigate to what extent the formulas produced by the three classroom learners were converted into rules, as described by Clark and Fillmore, the "I don't know" routine was examined developmentally.

In tracing the developmental route of "I don't know" the following structural features were considered:

(1) when "don't" was first used in similar but different expressions
(2) when an alternative subject to "I" first occurred
(3) when "know" was released for use without "don't"
(4) when an additional constituent first occurred.

Figure 4 gives the first instance and the week of its occurence of each of these developments in the communicative classroom speech of the three children.

Figure 4: The later development of the "I don't know" routine

Developmental features	*J*	*R*	*T*
"don't" used in similar but different expressions	"I don't understand" (14)	"I don't like holiday" (22)	"I don't like this book" (26)
Alternative subject to "I"	"You don't know where it is" (21)		
"know" used without "don't"	"I know this" (18)	"I know 'five" (26)	"I know this one" (28)
Additional constituents	"I don't know that big one" (18)	"I don't know this one" (24)	"I don't know this" (18)

When "don't" first appeared in structures other than "I don't know" its use was still very restricted. There is no immediate release followed by productive use with a range of different verbs. It is, in fact, quite likely that the new forms ("I don't understand" for *J* and "I don't like" for *R* and *T*) were still routines and that it was only when the learners perceived the syntactic similarity between the two routines that completely productive use of "don't" became possible. However, the data for the first year suggest that this point was not reached by any of the children.

Only *J* developed the ability to replace "I" with an alternative pronoun. This was a reflection of his more rapid overall development. His speech also manifested each developmental feature at an earlier date.

For all three children the ability to use "know" independently of "don't" was subsequent to their ability to use "don't" with other verbs. One interpretation of this would be that "don't" is analysed for productive use before "know", but this would assume that the other "don't" utterances are rule-derived rather than routines. What is more significant is that "I don't know" preceded the structurally simpler "I know" by as much as six months. This is surely a reflection of the comparative importance of the communicative uses of the two structures. In the classroom children prize the ability to express ignorance over the ability to express knowledge! Pupils need a defensive strategy to ward off the teachers' questions from the start.

The most interesting of the developmental features is the use of additional constituents with "I don't know", that is when the routine turned into a pattern. The data show a remarkable similarity with those provided by Clark. Here are some further examples taken from the speech of the three children with the juxtaposed structure italicized. The number in brackets refers to the week in which each utterance was observed.

(1) *That one* I don't know. (J - 21)
(2) I don't know *what's this.* (R - 26)
(3) I don't know *what's this.* (T - 25)
(4) I don't know *"holiday" spelling.* (T - 22)

(5) You don't know *where it is.* (J - 25)
(6) I don't know *how to play.* (J - 27)
(7) I don't know *what is squirrel.* (R - 24)
(8) I don't know *making.* (T - 30)

These are worth discussing in some detail as they reveal at least two different strategies. One of these consists of combining two routines into a single utterance. Definite examples of this strategy are (1), (2) and (3). (4) is also probably the product of this combination strategy, as "noun + spelling" served as a common device for requesting assistance with written work. (5) and (6) may also represent the conjunction of two routines, although *where it is* and *how to play* could also be rule-derived constituents. (7) and (8), however, reflect a totally different strategy. In both cases the learner incorporated a consitituent from the teacher's previous utterance, attaching it as a single, unanalysed unit to an existing routine. This is an example of what Scollon (1976) has called "vertical structures" in the speech of first language learners. Wagner-Gough (1975) reports a similar strategy in naturalistic L2 acquisition for her subject, Homer.

Teaching Formulaic Speech

In general the formulaic utterances were *picked up* by the three children rather than formally taught. When formal teaching did take place, it was focused on instruction in the correct production of key vocabulary or grammatical items. However, a number of the formulas listed in Figure 3 were actively and successfully taught. Here is an extract from a lesson which contained the first recorded use of "I don't know" by *R* and *T.* It was followed almost immediately by fairly regular use.

T. Now what's that? (T points at a picture of a tree)
R. No sir.
T. Do you know?
Do you know?
What's this?
R. No.
T. No.
T. No. Say "I don't know."
T. I don't know.
T. Do you know?
Do you know?
R. No.
T. I don't know.
R. I don't know.

This may appear fairly authoritarian teaching but it needs to be understood that the attention the teacher gave to modelling "I don't know" constituted a secondary goal. The teacher's main aim was to practice vocabulary. Similarly, on other occasions when formulas were taught, the teacher did not appear to have planned to do so in advance. The instruction resulted from a realisation *as the lesson progressed* that the pupils lacked the appropriate means for expressing discourse functions that were important in classroom communication.

The results of the study of the three children's formulaic speech show that routines, patterns and scripts were used frequently in the classroom context, that they were used to perform communicative functions important to the learners, that later development of formulas such as "I don't know" did occur and that there was some evidence that useful formulas such as "I don't know" could be directly taught when the opportunity offered itself in classroom discourse.

DISCUSSION

Three issues were identified for examination. They were the extent to which formulaic speech occurs in the early speech of ESL learners, the role of formulaic speech in L2 development and the part played by teaching in the classroom use of formulaic speech. I shall discuss each of these issues separately.

Initially the three children investigated in this study used formulaic speech extensively. Indeed, their speech appeared to be entirely composed of single words, routines, patterns and scripts. Also, in many cases the children used the *same* formulas and these appeared in their speech in the same order. The ceremonial formulas (for example "Good morning" and "Thank you"), "finish" and "I don't know" occurred earlier than "This one", "Can I have ______, please?" and "What's this?". However, although the frequency of occurrence of these formulas was high, their range was quite limited. The three learners developed a small number of formulas to meet their basic communicative needs in the classroom. With regard to the role of formulaic speech in the children's L2 development, it is necessary to distinguish between its contributioin to *performance* and *acquisition* (see page 54). This study suggests that in classroom L2 *performance* involving ESL learners, formulaic speech is an important aspect of their communicative abilities. The children needed and therefore learnt a number of formulas for participating in the everyday interactions of classroom life. Thus the formulas that were identified typically related to social aspects of the classroom and to classroom organisation. These aspects of classroom communication were so important to the learners that they acquired a limited set of formulas to compensate for their lack of creative rules for constructing novel sentences. The regularity and frequency of these contexts provided both the motivation and input conditions for acquiring a number of formulaic utterances.

As regards the role of formulaic speech in L2 *acquisition*, the picture is less clear and it is probably not possible to decide whether the formulaic wholes were stripped down and so contributed to the learners' developing rule systems, as claimed by Clark and Fillmore, or whether rule-created speech developed entirely separately, as argued by Krashen and Scarcella. Although considerable development took place in the children's use of "I don't know", it is not clear how much of the grammatical information contained in the routine was unpackaged and made available for productive use. Much of the apparent development could be explained either in terms of additional routines or by the conversion of routines to patterns. If this explanation is correct, little real analysis took place.

Somewhat greater evidence of analysis can be observed in a rather special routine used by *R*. It evolved in collaboration with a Vietnamese boy, whom *R* sat next to for a short period during the first year. The routine consisted of a fixed component "Book in the bin" and the fun consisted of manipulating this in one way or another in a manner similar to that described by Peck (1978;1980). Here is a representative sample of *R's* utterances recorded in a single lesson in week 11. In each utterance *R* was playing with language rather than conveying information.

Book in the bin.
You book in the bin.
My book not in the bin.
You in the bin.
No writing in the bin.
You book in the bin.
You bin . . . in the bin, all right?
You writing in the bin.

In the space of a few utterances *R* demonstrated his ability to operate on a routine in a way not dissimilar to the analytical procedures used by a linguist seeking to determine the constituent boundaries in his speech data. *R* substituted, added, deleted and rearranged. Semantic play, as afforded by this routine, appears to involve the kind of analysis which may contribute to the development of the creative rule system.

It may be that the role of formulaic speech in L2 acquisition is a variable phenomenon. That is, under certain conditions and with specific formulas the kind of analysis required to develop creative rules from previously unanalysed units may take place. The contribution of formulaic speech should not be seen in all-or-nothing terms. Also, formulaic speech may contribute to L2 acquisition by helping to start and sustain verbal interactions, thereby providing the learner with the necessary comprehensible input to facilitate growth of the creative rule system.

The final issue concerned whether formulaic speech can be taught. Some evidence was provided to show that this may be both possible and successful. The learners may have responded to direct teaching of routines such as "I don't know" because it provided them with the linguistic means to express functions that were communicatively important in the classroom. The success of this teaching contrasts with the repeated failure to teach the same learners syntactical rules. One speculative explanation for this is that whereas syntax consists of abstract rules that require the learner to focus on form, and is, as a result, not easily taught to children such as *J*, *R* and *T*, formulaic speech is not abstract but meaningful and can be memorized in the form in which it is presented and so can be taught and, in Krashen's terms "learnt". It may be possible to *learn* useful formulas in much the same way as any other useful information.

However, the study of the three children also showed that formulaic speech did not have to be taught to be acquired. Its communicative value together with frequency of use were sufficient for acquisition to take place. It is perhaps more important that ESL teachers are aware of the phenomenon of formulaic speech than that they should attempt direct teaching. This awareness would include recognition that unanlysed wholes are not evidence of the mastery of syntactical rules.

CONCLUSION

Formulaic speech plays a significant part in the L2 performance of ESL learners such as the three children investigated in this study. It enables them to perform a number of important communicative functions in the classroom and it may contribute, directly or indirectly, to the acquisition of rules for producing novel sentences. In the early stages of L2 development formulaic speech may be more significant than creative rules. In planning ESL programmes for beginners, therefore, teachers might like to think about which formulas will be of most use to their students and look out for opportunities in which they can naturally introduce and practise them.

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Language is Culture: Textbuilding Conventions in Oral Narrative

Sandra Silberstein

INTRODUCTION

In this paper I provide empirical evidence for, and suggest theoretical implications of, a rather common observation: all native speakers of a language do not talk the same. Beyond the oft-cited phonological variation of dialect speakers, I argue that membership in different speech communities based on such factors as age, gender, ethnicity, and family affect the textbuilding, or storytelling, conventions speakers have available to them. I suggest, further, that listener response to a story may turn on whether or not listener and narrator share these conventions.

That native speakers of differing backgrounds tell and receive stories differently has important implications for the teaching of English to speakers of other languages. In particular, communicative competence must turn, in part, on the extent to which one has learned to recognize the ways in which such factors as age, gender, ethnicity, and family are embedded in the narrative choices made by speakers of a language. If native speakers of nonoverlapping speech communities can find each other incomprehensible, how confused might a nonnative speaker be, trying to make sense of a narrative that adheres to nondominant, and presumably unfamiliar, speech conventions, for example, a story told by an older, female speaker from an ethnic minority?

In this paper I look at a single courtship narrative (told by an older Jewish woman), examine some listener response to that story, and discuss the results of a study which compares and contrasts this story with others. As a result of this comparative work, I am able to hypothesize storytelling conventions made available by membership in demographically based speech communities. Finally, I demonstrate that knowledge of storytelling conventions can illuminate areas of cross-cultural confusion uncovered by our study of listener response.

In the end it is this cultural information which will help us understand one courtship narrative. In fact, issues raised here about conventions, about personal

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style, about critical theory remain within the context of a single question: What does one need to know in order to understand and therefore describe a single text?

In the context of storytelling, it requires a story to understand how I came to be interested in the implications of describing a single text.

Originally, I was interested in much more general questions about how people tell stories in the context of longer interactions. As part of a pilot study, I hired a friend, a male linguist, to interview middle-aged Jewish women. One evening my friend broke down in a mock confession over the phone. Partly in parody of listener response, partly in venting his own frustration, he complained: "I don't care what you think of me; [these] women are terrible storytellers. They add all these details, which, far from adding to the point, detract from it. In fact, there is no point to their stories." It struck me that this wonderfully honest and perceptive expression of frustration was reflective of more generally held attitudes—attitudes which my friend had been able to name and parody. He understood before I did that his feelings were an important part of our joint research, and that our investigation should include an examination of listener response. As a result, this paper and the study it reports is built around that story from the pilot study that evokes the most diverse reactions, even among my colleagues, Mrs. Blum's "Within a Two-Week Period I Had Five Proposals"[1]:

WITHIN A TWO-WEEK PERIOD I HAD FIVE PROPOSALS[2]

S: Can you tell me about any of your dates? Do any of them stick out in your mind?
[
B: Yes yes =
S: =((very soft vocalization))
B: I had ah - within a two-week ((laughing)) p(h)eriod I had five proposals.
[
S: ((voiced smile))
((S turns over tape))
S: Yeah ah
B: Anyway=
S: =So we were talking about your five proposals.
B: Yeah ((laughs)) ((quickly)) Five proposals in a two-week time. It=
[
S: ((voiced smile))
B: =seems that ah - ((tsk))[3] I met my husband Jack Blum at a fraternity affair at Carlisle,

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[1] The transcript omits several embedded anecdotes which are not the subject of this paper. The anecdotes are discussed at some length in Silberstein (1982). Their omission should in no way suggest that the transcript reflects a *kernel* or *real* story. Rather, the transcript comprises part of a longer tale.

[2] Transcript format is that developed by Gail Jefferson, as outlined in Sudnow (1972). Those conventions used here are detailed below:

A. Overlapping utterances

The point at which an ongoing utterance is overlapped by another is marked with a single left-hand bracket at the point where the overlap begins.

S: Can you tell me about any of your dates? Do any of them stick out in your mind?
[[

B: Yes

The point at which overlapping utterances stop overlapping is marked with a single right-hand bracket:

S: Lots of people
] [ ]
B: a number of boys yes.

B. Contiguous utterances

When there is no interval between adjacent utterances, the second being latched immediately to the first (without overlapping it), the utterances are linked together with equal signs:

B: Anyway=
=
S: =So we were talking about your five proposals.

C. Intervals within utterances

A short untimed pause within an utterance is indicated by a dash:

- B: It's ah, u::m what's the big fraternity you know - Z.B.T.

D. Characteristics of speech delivery

A colon indicates an extension of the sound or syllable it follows:

B: So I said well, I have this: - other fella that- ah,

A double colon prolongs the extension:

B: It's ah, u::m what's the big fraternity you know - Z.B.T.

A period indicates a stopping fall in tone, not necessarily the end of a sentence:

B: Phi Ep.

A comma indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of sentences:

, B: It's now Z.B.T. Yes. It was Phi- he was Superior at Phi Ep,

A comma indicates a continuing intonation, not necessarily between clauses of a sentence:

S: =Oh he was from Phili, okay
[
, B: his name was Bob Singer,=
S: Okay
=[
B: he's studying law,

A question mark indicates a rising inflection, not necessarily a question:

? S: You didn't like *any* of them?

A single dash, immediately following a word indicates a halting, abrupt cutoff. In the example below, note the distinction between an untimed pause and a halting cutoff:

- S: =You were- that you were going with this - no?

Emphasis is indicated by varieties of italics and larger print:

italics B: No: I wa- they were just *dances*, that's all.
LARGE B: Which is now Beta Sigma Rho. NO! Which is not Beta Sigma
PRINT Rho=

Audible aspirations (h) are inserted where they occur occur;
double parentheses are used to enclose descriptions of phenomena not easily transcribed:

(h) B: I had ah - within a two-week ((laughing)) p(h)eriod I
(()) had five proposals.

Double parentheses are also used to provide other details of the conversational scene:

((S turns over tape))

or to describe various characteristics of the talk:

B: ((quickly)) Five proposals in a two-week time.

E. Other transcript symbols

Vertical ellipses indicate the omission of intervening turns of talk:

B: A:nd - he was right, we got married and
]
S: Hum

B: That was the beginning.

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[1] ((Tsk)) indicates a dentalveolar click.

S: ((vocalization))
B: Dickinson Law. He:'s the Superior from- Penn State, a:nd h:e is-
S: What's that mean Superior?
B: Head of the fraternity.
S: I: see um yeah
[
B: Phi Ep.
S: Uh huh
B: Which is now Beta Sigma Rho. NO! Which is not Beta Sigma Rho=
[
S: ((vocalization))
B: =that's another boy I dated excuse me.
[
S: ((laughs))
B: It's ah, u::m what's the big fraternity you know - Z.B.T.
S: ((with recognition)) Z.B.T.,
B: It's now Z.B.T. Yes. It was Phi- he was Superior at Phi Ep.=
[
S: right
B: =((tsk))
S: ((vocalization))
B: and he was in Carlisle visiting, ah - some mills in Pennsylvania. He was a senior, and he - had an idea that he was gonna have a chain of hosiery mills. This is what he wanted to do.
S: Hum
B: And there were some in- there was one plant in York Pennsylvania ((quickly)) he came down to visit. While he was down he visited, at the fraternity house. I was going with a young attorney, oh he was to be an attorney=
S: =Uh hum=
B: =from Philadelphia. Bob Singer was his name.
S: ((voiced smile))
B: A:nd ah - I met Jack and that same night I met two other boys who were visiting. And
[
S: *H(h)uh!* So you had the one fellow who was in town and these three visitors. - Right?
[
B: No - no=
S: =You were- that you were going with this - no?
[
B: No. No no no. No. I had a date with this boy from Philadelphia=
S: =Oh he was from Phili, okay
[
B: his name was Bob Singer,=
S: Okay
=[
B: he's studying law.

S: Right
B: his brother's a Rhodes Scholar.
S: Huh
B: A:nd his brother was there that night, I danced with him=
                    [
S: Um hum
B: =and I - um one of the fellows came over and asked to dance with me and it was *Jack Blum*.
S: Hum
B: And you know at fraternity dances you dance with=
S: =Lots of people
   [   ]
B: a number of boys, yes.=
S: =Yeah
B: ((tsk)) And I danced with two other boys, who were visiting at the fraternity and- by coincidence they were- from Penn State, there was some sort of gathering or something there, a:nd whe:n - the next week I got a letter, from Jack, inviting me, to a fraternity dance. I couldn't remember which one he was.
S: *((laughs!))*
B: I couldn't figure out which one of the three this Jack Blum was.
S: Now did you know which one of the three you liked best?
B: I didn't like *any* of them. I wasn't-
              [
S: You didn't like *any* of them?
B: No: I wa- they were just *dances*, that's all.

⋮

B: But ah, then, I went to the fraternity house and he was very lovely, as I said he was Superior at his house that means he's the head of the house.=
S: =Uh huh
B: A:nd he was- highly- he was older.
S: ((vocalization))
B: He had worked four years before he went to college.
S: Ah
B: And ah- he was one of the top honor students,=
S: Um hum
   =[
B: and I think third in his class at the ah- in accounting and- he was:- quite a boy. Anyhow - I went there, and that- and there I met a girl by the name- of Ruth D:eutsch, from Allentown, and she was there, with her childhood sweetheart, Art Schwartz. Well, ((tsk))
S: ((softly)) hum
B: when I told her- oh she was telling me that I had the best date in the house and I said well ((tsk)) I'm not staying, I'm leaving=
      [
S: ((laughs))
B: =tomorrow. She sa- if you do, she says, that is the meanest cruellest thing

that anybody could ever do. How could you *do* that to such a wonderful *boy?*
S: *Huh!*
B: So I said well, I have this: - other fella that- ah,
[
S: ((laughs))
B: wants me to come over there, and I know him he's from my home town Harrisburg, and I said ah - I'm gonna leave. Oh she says, I think - I would have no respect for you at all she says I thought I liked you when I met you but she says ((tsk)) - you are really cruel. Well I had a very- I was a very conscientious=
[
S: Whoa
(it b- and)
B: person and very sensitive and it bothered me.
(I'm- I'm)
S: Um hum
B: So I called the other boy up and told him I *just* can't do it I'll come to another fraternity affair but I just can't *do* that. And we had a very nice time. We really did. I enjoyed it, ((tsk))
[ ]
S: Um hum Hum
B: =and he started writing to me, and in the meantime I was dating all the time.
S: Um hum
B: And ah, I had these other boys, and- I don't know whether it was because they *knew* that this boy had a crush on me or what but everybody started proposing!
S: *OH WOW!*
[
B: Well, well when finally, when Jack proposed to me ((tsk)) - ah, I told him frankly I wasn't in love with him. And he said that didn't make a bit of difference to him. Because he knew that I=
[
S: ((vocalization))
B: =was in- that he- that he was in love with me, and he didn't- it didn't bother him one bit he knew that- eventually. He says I know the kind of person you are, and he- I was just timid that was i- mostly my problem. A:nd -he was right, we got married and
]
S: Hum

B: That was the beginning.

As it became clear that Mrs. Blum's tape elicits quite different responses from different listeners, I began to solicit reactions whenever I could from both linguists and laypeople: older and younger, Jews and non-Jews. While some listeners found this a "wonderful" story, others evidenced no timidity in telling me why the story perplexed or even offended them. I do not claim my sample to be statistically representative, but the complaints which attend this story are so systematic, they provide important clues as to the questions we should be asking about the tale. What follows is a description of the most systematic negative responses to Mrs. Blum's story—responses, I will argue, which are due to cross-cultural confusion.

LISTENER RESPONSE

In fundamental ways, Mrs. Blum's rendition fails to conform to some listeners' notions of how a courtship story should be presented. While it violates some listeners' expectations from the point of view of both content and structure, the scope of this paper allows me to deal only with issues of content.

"Irrelevant Details"

Some listeners experience this as a story full of irrelevant details. They question why we need to know the names of Mrs. Blum's suitor, Bob Singer; her friend, Kay Hartman; even her potential date, Si Lewis; the girl at the party, Ruth Deutsch, and "her childhood sweetheart Art Schwartz." And they question why we are given geographical markers for these characters. Still others wonder why Mrs. Blum struggles so hard to correct seemingly irrelevant details. Why they ask, do we need to know the precise name of Jack's fraternity?

Details "in Poor Taste"

Some listeners find Mrs. Blum's use of status markers to be in poor taste. Why, they ask, do we need to know that her suitor's brother was a Rhodes Scholar? In fact, many question, or are put off by, Mrs. Blum's frequent assurances that Jack was "superior" in many ways.

Some listeners find the discussion of other suitors "unkind to one's spouse" and report that it makes them somewhat uncomfortable. More evidence for this point of view is provided by another interviewee, Mrs. Brooks, who finds such storytelling within her family "rather disloyal" and even "rather objectionable."

Lack of Certain Relevant Details

Many who listen to Mrs. Blum's story feel they lack the information they need to understand why she chose to marry Jack Blum. They complain that they have no sense of the rapport between the two and no real sense of who Jack Blum is, other than superior of his fraternity, an older man, and an A student. One listener complained that she felt Mrs. Blum herself to be absent from the story. And another listener reported that, despite all the details provided, he simply could not form an image of these people in his mind; he found the story frustrating because of his own lack of identification with it.

A FIRST APPROACH TO THE TEXT

It is tempting to seek a relatively straightforward descriptive metaphor to help those who misapprehend Mrs. Blum's discourse. At first I considered the metaphor of a skeletal, kernel story comprehensible to anyone but made confusing to some by Mrs. Blum's embellishments. Indeed, our task would be a good deal simpler if the following paragraph, written for an earlier draft of this work, could explain the problems some listeners have with Mrs. Blum's story:

> To the skeleton of her story, Mrs. Blum adds expansions, embellishments, and several subsidiary anecdotes. If one is unfamiliar with a storytelling tradition which fits amplifications to a particular audience at the moment of the telling, one will find this story hopelessly baroque—filled with diversions that prove to be cul-de-sacs along the way. One must learn to read Mrs. Blum's markers, often constructed of paralinguistic signals, if one is to find the kernel story, hidden among its amplifications.

Elegantly simple. And a rich tradition of 20th century structural linguistics is consistent with this kind of kernel/embellishment model.[4] Readers will recognize Chomsky's sentence-level deep and surface structure as within this tradition. Each of these theories of language and culture implies that beneath the messy instances of language data which confront the linguist, there is something more real or concrete.

My intent is not to dismiss the contributions of a structural approach to language, but rather to note that it does not respond to the questions raised here. The notion of a kernel story, a text deep structure, does not help me to describe those aspects of Mrs. Blum's story that listeners find perplexing. I can create seemingly unembellished versions of her story that are far easier to follow for an initially confused listener, but these kernel stories are in fact my creation, and, as linguist Deborah Tannen commented upon being presented one of these, "That's not Mrs. Blum's story." In fact, what I will argue is that a story does not contain detail, a story *is* detail. Thus we need to analyse Mrs. Blum's story on its own terms, to discover what is conventionalized about her story and what is unique. To do so, one needs to compare and contrast this story with others.

As I already had Mrs. Blum's daughter's story on tape, I had some strong evidence that people in the same family tell stories in similar ways. A careful examination of stories elicited from the rest of Mrs. Blum's family and another multi-generational family suggests that there are family-based narrative conventions—that there are storytelling conventions that inform the choices that members of the same family make when telling stories. What I will not argue is that narrative conventions determine how we speak. I do not mean to suggest that every elderly, Jewish woman from Ohio will tell the same courtship story. What I do suggest is that parameters such as family, age, gender, ethnicity seem to constrain the choices one has available when one builds a story. To be sure, one's choices are at the same time conventionalized and unique. I am suggesting that when we tell a story, we choose from among the conventions of the speech communities to which we belong. The set of choices we make for any given telling is, in fact, unique. Mrs. Blum will never again tell her story to anyone else, even to me, in quite the same way. But the choices that we make over and over again, the systematic choices one makes among conventions is what I define as *personal style.*

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[4] Structuralist analyses from Propp (1928 [1968]) and Levi-Strauss (1955) on have documented *stock* characters and key elements in narrative. Following Barthes, Chatman (1978), for example, posits kernels and satellites as the staples of narrative structure. The function of satellites "is that of filling in, elaborating, completing the kernel; they form the flesh on the skeleton" (p. 54). The concept of an invariable kernel story—the real story beneath its embellishments—is consistent with the work of many current theorists. It is close to inappropriate extensions of the Chomskyan notion of deep and surface structure to text grammars; to the structuralist/semiological theories which posit a *concept* independent of a language which signifies it, or an abstract *langue* independent of instances of its use, *parole*; and even to those Marxists who posit a base (economic and historical forces) which determines a superstructure (cultural forms); (c.f. Van Dijk [1972], Barthes [1957 (1970)], and, for a critique of vulgar Marxists, Williams 1977).

THE DATA

Courtship stories were elicited, against which to examine Mrs. Blum's text, from all members of her family and all members of another multi-generational family. The groups are quite similar except with respect to ethnicity. Mrs. Blum's family is Jewish; the McCloud/Brooks are white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. These demographics allowed me to explore storytelling conventions along the parameter of family and to raise hypotheses about gender-based, generational, and ethnic traditions in storytelling. Family and ethnic conventions will be the focus here; some hypotheses about generational constraints are raised in the final section of the paper.

Space constraints preclude a detailed description of data collection. It suffices to note that courtship stories were elicited in the context of longer oral history interviews; the circumstances of data collection were comparable.

FAMILY CONVENTIONS

While there are a great many similarities among stories told by members of the same family, our focus here will be those conventions which illuminate Mrs. Blum's tale and the confusion it evokes.

The Blum/Meyer Family

"That Was the Beginning". In the case of each Blum/Meyer speaker, some part of the story is framed with a phrase much like Mrs. Blum's final phrase, "that was the beginning." Her daughter says, "that was the beginning of our romance." Her granddaughter say, "that was the beginning of . . . the relationship." Her grandson offers, "that was the beginning of the courtship." As I note elsewhere (Silberstein, 1982), like Western fairy tales, the Blum/Meyers focus on necessarily rocky beginnings which precede mature relationships.

Courtship Storytelling as Teaching Devices and Loci for Discussions of Morality. Morality and mores figure prominently in these stories. Moral content is part of the vocabulary of motive of the Blum/Meyer woman.[5] More than this, a fascination with the changing moral code characterizes some of the stories in all three generations. This may be because of the situation in which we had all come together. Mrs. Blum's granddaughter was trying to decide whether to marry the man with whom she lived; she and I were in Ohio to attend the wedding of a mutual friend. Thus, the topic of changing mores was particularly salient.

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[5] I refer here to C. Wright Mills' (1940) notion of a *shared vocabulary of motive.* Mills argues that stated motives must be seen as articulations within ideologies shared with one's community — articulations within a shared vocabulary of motive. So powerful is the need to conform to a shared vocabulary of motive, Mills points out, that people will actually refrain from doing something if they cannot locate a reason for it in this shared vocabulary, i.e. "What will I tell my friends?"

Evidence that, like Mrs. Blum, the second-generation Meyers have used their courtship story as a teaching device comes from Mrs. Blum's daughter who reports that she and her husband usually told their story to the children around anniversary time.

The Two Suitors Convention. Other suitors and dates figure prominently in the Blum/Meyer stories. The phrase, *two suitors convention*, is suggested by Jean Kennard (1978) who, in her book *Victims of Convention*, examines the use of two suitors in the nineteenth century novel. She points out that the function of this tradition is to present the heroine/reader with a set of qualities which she must either reject or accept. Maturity is defined by choosing the right suitor. In like fashion, Mrs. Blum says of Jack: "He was so good and so wonderful and so bright. The kind of a person that- I really wanted but was afraid to let myself go I think." Mrs. Blum's granddaughter's narrative is similar. At the time she met her future husband, she was in the process of rejecting the wrong suitor:

> I was not really satisfied in the relationship because I had sort of been bringing him up. I was sort of his girlfriend and his mother and social counselor, I really liked him and I really enjoyed being with him, but it wasn't- I didn't want to run the whole show you know. That's what I found myself doing more and more.

In contrast, Jean describes her husband:

> One of the things when I first met him and, you know he told me he wanted to do when he finished was you know to be in academia. [Um hum] That really appealed to me in terms of the kind of lifestyle that I wanted to be associated with. [Um hum, um hum] And I'm sure that that was part of my decision-making in deciding to become involved with him, because I was interested in a man whose goals and whose lifestyle would be compatible with something that I could feel comfortable in. . . .

Like the nineteenth-century novel, then, these stories demonstrate the maturing process of a female who learns to make the right choice. The *two suitors convention* is particularly appropriate for stories meant to serve as teaching devices. Mrs. Blum's careful detailing of Jack's attributes serves as a display that she made the right choice and demonstrates how she knew. While some listeners find the citing of other suitors "unkind to one's spouse," the two suitors convention and the mentioning of other dates in general can serve as a kindness to, and enhance the impression of, one's partner. By demonstrating that they had other options, these narrators suggest that the person they chose was the most desirable. More importantly, perhaps, the convention teaches the point of view that one should date a number of people before one chooses a partner. This is clearly an assumption shared by all members of this family and is reflected over and over again in these stories.

Use of Demographic and Competence Markers. At least in the first and second generations, the Blum/Meyer stories serve as displays that narrators have made the right choice.[6] It should not surprise us, then, that narrators in this family cite demographic and competence markers. Like Mrs. Blum, they want us to know on what basis they made their decisions. Unlike Mrs. Blum, the stated bases of these decisions includes more than demographics. The second-generation storytellers speak of attraction and romance; the third generation speaks of attraction and compatibility. But everyone in this family marks their partners in terms of their membership in social communities and/or their professional affiliations. Citing others, Mrs. Blum's son-in-law tells us that Ellen Blum Meyer was a "very pretty Jewish girl." Ellen tells us that he was "part of a group of young men all of whom had been in the service, and all of whom were in their mid- to late-twenties, none of whom were married, and they all were working for their fathers."

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[6] Generations are numbered first through third with the first representing the oldest speakers.

Unlike the McCloud/Brooks stories, this kind of demographic marking is obligatory for the Blum/Meyer narrative. Recall that an attachment to an academic lifestyle made a suitor attractive to Mrs. Blum's granddaughter.

Animation and Interaction. In brief, the Blum/Meyers appear to be more animated in part because of a consistent use of humor, raised volume, faster speech (more words per minute) contrasting intonational contours, and a much greater affinity for direct-quoting (they utilize this device twice as much as do the McCloud/Brooks.) Similarly, perhaps because of a greater cultural affinity, the Blum/Meyers and I interact a good deal more, overlapping and linking our utterances to each other.

I find this particularly suggestive as these are all features which enhance audience involvement and which Tannen (1979) finds typical of her New York Jewish Eastern European subjects. (The Midwestern Blum/Meyers are originally from Western Europe.)

The McCloud/Brooks Family

I include a brief discussion here of the ways in which the McCloud/Brooks stories differ from those of Mrs. Blum's family. Again, the focus is on those conventions which illuminate Mrs. Blum's telling and the confusion it evokes.

"That's How We Met". While the Blum/Meyers frame their courtship tales as beginnings, each McCloud/Brooks speaker frames a courtship story with a phrase much like "that's how we met." This may be because their stories serve, not as teaching devices, but as oral history.

Courtship as History. These stories do not seem to be told often and McCloud/Brooks speakers call forth a good deal more searches than do the Blum/Meyers. As precise historians, they also show some preference for specific time markers such as "two weeks ago," as opposed to the Blum/Meyer preference for nonspecific markers such as "some time later."

Censored Stories. While citing other suitors is a central feature and an important teaching device in Blum/Meyer stories, these elements are carefully censored from McCloud/Brooks narratives, although such suitors usually existed. Evidence that discussing other suitors is not considered appropriate by the McCloud/Brooks comes from second-generation Kay McCloud Brooks. When I asked her if she had ever heard the story of her mother's other suitor, she responded that she expected she had but "wouldn't have responded favorably. . . . After all she chose my Dad, that was years ago. . . . That was the past. She'd made a choice. Why keep harping on, or harking back to, might-have-beens?" Kay avows that she "would never have repeated" the story. And she never did.

Demographic Information as Secondary. The Blum/Meyers rely on demographic information to build a sense of community and worthiness of a spouse. In McCloud/Brooks stories, less demographic information is cited about partners and, when such information occurs, it is made to seem incidental. Here is another example from Kay McCloud Brooks. "The Army Signal Corps group that Ed was attached to had a dance once a month."

ETHNIC TRADITIONS

I raise two hypotheses about the different ethnic traditions from which these families draw. The first has already been suggested when I noted that the animation and interaction of Blum/Meyer narratives may be ethnic in origin. The second hypothesis is that Mrs. Blum's family may well have available to its conventions of a European Jewish matchmaking storytelling tradition. I present two stories from Ausubel's *Treasury of Jewish Folklore* (1948):

The Aristocrat

Shortly after the Bolshevik Revolution, a shadchen [matchmaker] called on a lady client in Minsk.

"How much dowry have you?" he asked delicately.

"Two thousand rubles."

The shadchen then took out his little black book and said, "Well now, let's see! H-mmm. For two thousand rubles I can give you a doctor."

"No, I don't want a doctor."

"Maybe you'd like a rabbi?"

"No, no rabbi."

"How about a cantor?"

"No, no cantor."

"Then what is it you want?"

"I want a worker."

"A worker? You're a smart one! For two thousand rubles you think you can get a worker?" (p. 416)

In this story it is the capacity of the man for a remunerative career that is stressed. Jack Blum, too, was described as a man who knew "what he wanted to do" in the business world.

Here is the second tale from Ausubel:

Speak Up

"You faker, you swindler!" hissed the prospective bridegroom, taking the shadchen aside. "Why did you ever get me into this? The girl's old, she's homely, she lisps, she squints—"

"You don't have to whisper," interrupted the shadchen, "she's deaf too!" (p. 418).

Health and appearance are stressed for women in the matchmaking tales. Similarly, Mrs. Blum's daughter was described as a "pretty, Jewish girl and she's healthy." Clearly this is an allusion to, as well as a parody of, these traditional tales.

CONCLUSION

It remains only to use knowledge of courtship storytelling conventions to illuminate areas of confusion documented by our study of listener responses. Remember that Mrs. Blum was experienced as providing irrelevant details (names and places), and details in poor taste (suitors and competence markers), while omitting relevant details of her relationship with Jack.

"Irrelevant Details"

In part, details of fraternity affiliation and geographical origin serve to describe friends and potential partners in terms of membership in social communities. As we have seen, such markings are important to Blum/Meyer stories. Of similar importance can be the naming of other suitors. In addition, older narrators in both families tend to search for names—names of people, names of places. Older people have a memorializing quality to their stories as they try to recreate the world.

Details "in Poor Taste"

Discussions of other suitors is characteristic of Blum/Meyer stories. While the use of competence markers may be ethnic in origin, both kinds of details serve as displays that one made the right decision, and as teaching devices for mate selection.

Lack of Relevant Details

In part, this complaint turns on the fact that Mrs. Blum's notion of relevance so differs from that of some listeners. It is the Jewish women who systematically find this a wonderful story. Non-Jewish men most often find this narrative not to their taste. But some of the constraints on relevance may also be generational. It is only in the stories of the third generation that I find discussion of the quality of the relationship and explicit mention of rapport. It was the younger listeners who missed this information in Mrs. Blum's story.

What I am arguing finally is that one cannot make sense of Mrs. Blum's story without understanding the conventions from which she chooses. If one does not share her background, and hence her narrative strategies, one may very well not like or even comprehend her story. I am arguing, further, that it is just such cultural embedding that can confuse the foreign student who, when faced with a second language interaction, can easily neglect the very ethnographic information she might be sensitive to in her own language.

In my ESL classes, I have given students problem-solving activities which reflect cross-cultural confusions I have experienced in my home society. In these exercises, my goal is not to provide a formulaic solution for each problem. Rather, the intent is to encourage students to explore a wide range of possible interpretations for a given interaction. Often I have had no single interpretation to offer my students. This forces us to focus, not on definitive solutions, but rather on problem-solving skills or strategies. Students come to understand that no one feels always comfortable in any environment. But the anthropologist within us can render us better communicators and actors in a world of diverse human interactions.

English today is used by groups of people throughout the world - both native and non-native speakers - each with different views of the world to express. ESL/EFL teachers may have to assess carefully their own culturally based interpretations of the varieties presently in use. Only then, can we work to lessen the confusion of the non-native speaker confronted with an unfamiliar or non-dominant variety of English.

What we as teachers must never do is to urge students to rely on cultural stereotypes. I am suggesting, rather, that students of culture be sensitized to the impact on narrative choices that membership in diverse speech communities can have in a pluralistic society.

All of us need to remember that a perplexing story is not necessarily a bad one.

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Bilingual Education for Native Americans: The Argument From Studies of Variational English

Beverly Olson Flanigan

In the past decade a number of studies have been made of the distinctive varieties of American Indian English purportedly used throughout the United States. To date, some fifteen such studies have appeared, including analyses of Navajo "Dormitory English" (Harvey 1974), Isletan Tiwa English (Leap 1973, 1974), and the English of the Cheyenne (Alford 1974), the Mojave (Penfield 1975), the Yakima (Weeks 1975), the Pima (Miller 1977), and the Mescalero (Dubois 1978), to name just a few. The assumption underlying most of these studies has been that each such variational English is the result of interference from the ancestral language of the tribal group; hence the number of Indian English varieties is potentially 200 or so, the number of Native American languages still spoken on the continent (Leap 1978). Combined with the transfer of Native language features, including syntactic and phonological forms as well as semantic and pragmatic conventions, has been the presumably incomplete and imperfect learning of standard English in the schools and in the workplace by generations of semi-isolated and semi-educated Indians. Thus speakers commit developmental errors of various sorts, just as child language learners and second or foreign language learners do in the course of acquiring full language proficiency. (See, for example, Brown 1973 on first language acquisition and Taylor 1975 and Richards 1971 on ESL/EFL production errors.) The implication of both assumptions is that educational intervention and the passage of time can effect the eradication of such errors.

What cannot be ignored, however, is the fact that the speakers of these dialectal varieties are, for the most part, neither child learners nor speakers of foreign tongues

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suddenly set down in an English-speaking environment. English is in fact the first language of a rapidly increasing number of Native Americans, and it is for many more the dominant language of use if not the initially acquired tongue. Indeed, knowledge of native Indian languages is fading so rapidly that it has been estimated that at least one such language is disappearing each year (Potter 1981); Saville-Troike (1978) states that 49 languages have fewer than ten speakers each. What this means is that many of the native tongues are increasingly used only by members of the older generation, comprehended, in varying degrees, by their children, and neither used nor understood by their grandchildren. Thus the English spoken on many reservations today is an English handed down for four or five generations and learned as a social and/or geographical variety by each successive group of children in much the same way that child-language learners everywhere acquire particular varieties of English.

The source of these particular varieties of English may be debated; in a paper read at the annual conference on New Ways of Analyzing Variation in English (NWAVE XI) in October 1982, I presented evidence refuting the interference hypothesis in the case of one such variety, Lakota English. Other researchers have noted similarities across Native American Englishes which cannot be explained by ancestral family relatedness, typological relatedness, or even areal diffusion of forms but which do bear a remarkable likeness to the *non-mainstream* varieties of English spoken by other cultural groups in the United States, including Black, Chicano, and nonstandard white varieties. Wolfram (1980) has found similarities in the incidence of consonant cluster reduction, unmarked tense, and negative concord across such nonstandard varieties, and Stout (1977) has observed variability in the use of *do*, *be*, and the modal auxiliaries among Cheyenne, Isletan, and Laguna speakers of English that parallels their use in other nonstandard English dialects. In fact, those who a decade ago were arguing most strongly in favor of unique interference from the native languages are now proposing a ***universal*** or ***natural language*** pattern of grammatical simplification and phonological reduction that reflects recent attempts to see early Indian-English contact as similar to other language contact situations in which a simplified language variety was developed which gave rise in turn to a post-pidgin or post-creole continuum of variational forms in much the same way that Spanish, West African, and other languages in contact with English have produced such varieties (Flanigan 1981; cf. Leap and Stout 1976 on ***universal*** patterns in Isletan Tiwa English). Such studies obviously have their genesis in pidgin-creole research like that of Bickerton (1975) on Guyanese Creole, Reinecke (1969) on Hawaiian Creole, Hancock (1977) on West African Pidgin English, and Biansitt and Teschner (1980) on Hispanic English.

THE NEED FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Regardless of the source, however, present-day Indian speakers of nonstandard varieties are keenly aware of their "broken" or "bad" English, and younger peopel are especially cognizant of the necessity of acquiring the standard code if they are to advance economically and politically in the white man's world. High school and college students are receptive to recently inaugurated courses in Standard English as a Second Dialect, and teachers are eager for help in dealing with the problems of their learners, especially in reading and writing (cf. Harvey 1974, Wolfram et al. 1979, Cronnell 1981, and Allen 1982). Ironically, however, American Indians are at the same time increasingly anxious to revitalize and maintain their ancestral languages, with the help of second language and bilingual education programs in the schools wherever feasible. The clash between these two keenly felt impulses is neither necessary nor inevitable; Fishman has pointed out that ethnic community mother tongue schools tend to increase when their speakers begin to "interact significantly with the American mainstream"; Hispanics, and now American Indians, are reaching that point of interaction and self-consciousness, and they are demanding that the schools serve them as "authentic channels of biculturism" (Fishman 1980:11f.).

The rub, of course, lies in the fact of ever-diminishing funding for bilingual education, much less for second language instruction of any kind, and particularly in the fact of decreasing support for the inclusion of American Indians in any sort of funding, presumably on the grounds that they, like the children of the Chinese community in the San Francisco case of Lau vs. Nichols, should have learned standard English by now. Leap (personal communication) has pointed out the danger of the elimination of Section 703 (a) (1) (C), the so-called *Indian English* clause of the Bilingual Education Act (popularly called Title VII)—a danger of particularly pointed irony in light of the fact that it was only five short years ago that the act was revised to allow Indians greater access to funding on the basis of the newly defined *Limited English Proficiency* (LEP) criterion than they had had under the earlier *Limited English Speaking Ability* (LESA) requirement. In other words, the revised clause recognized the fact that, while Native languages may no longer be *dominant* in terms of actual use, they may have had, or still have, a *significant impact* on the English language proficiency of Native Americans (Public Law 95-561), whether directly through interference or indirectly through a reduced or simplified code handed down through generations of limited-English-proficient speakers. Now the open hand is threatening to close again.

The objection to continued funding stems, of course, from the increasingly documentable fact that monies are being used primarily to maintain languages other than English and only secondarily (and in some cases hardly at all) to "improve [the] English language skills" of the children and to promote transition to English-only instruction—the express goals of the legislation. If this seems devious (and one school official on the Pine Ridge reservation told me he was quite aware that he was being devious but that he cared not at all whether English language skills were improved or not so long as even some Lakota was learned), the response must be made that even such a reversal of the mandated goals is justifiable on the basis of continued evidence of the improvement of second language skills (in this case English) as well as of general cognitive/academic skills even when primary language (in this case ancestral language) instruction and use remain dominant throughout the early grades of school (cf. Cummins 1980, Troike 1978, Rosier and Farella 1976, and Matthews 1976). English language skills are being improved even as Lakota or Navajo or Crow is also learned; whether it is the standard or educated or *mainstream* variety of English that is being learned is another matter, and one that will be held in abeyance for later discussion. In any case, the fact remains that for a sizable number of Indian children English is still the language of school and not of the home, even if that number is rapidly decreasing, and as long as these children are in the classroom the continuance of bilingual programs for Native Americans is surely warranted.

It is all the more urgent, therefore, to document the continued influence of nonstandard English codes, regardless of historical source, upon the level of English proficiency of Indian children, first of all to insure the continuation of Standard

English as a Second Dialect instruction (an important part of most Title VII programs, whether under that rubric or as pull-out ESL instruction) and secondly to foster the maintenance, and in some cases the revitalization, of Native languages in communities where such support offers the only means by which the schools can afford to initiate instruction in the ancestral language and, where desired, to develop the materials necessary for teaching literacy in that language.

NONSTANDARD ENGLISH AMONG THE LAKOTA

My own preliminary survey of Sioux reservation schools in South Dakota in 1982 has led me to believe that there exists a clear need to recognize the pervasive use of a nonstandard variety of English, particularly among older and middle generation speakers but also among younger school-age children and college students. As I have indicated in more detail elsewhere (Flanigan 1982), this variety bears little evidence of direct interference from the ancestral Lakota dialect of the Siouan language spoken throughout the area, but considerable variation in its syntactic and morphophonemic patterns justifies its consideration as a nonstandard dialect called Lakota English. Thus, while a rapidly diminishing number of Lakota Sioux speak Lakota (contrary to the findings of Wax, Wax, and Dumont less than 20 years ago [1964]), the use of Lakota English is widespread and recognized, even by its users, who still term it Reservation, or "Res," English. The marks of this dialect can be seen in the attestations reproduced in the appendix, collected for the most part from interviews with teachers, bilingual aides, and other school officials on the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations in South Dakota. Selected examples might be cited here under three heads:

Phonological:

a. Variable substitution of the interdental stop /t, d/ for the fricative (th): "tings dat dose kids should know about"; "On'y ting different among us in dis Sou' Dakota bands. . . ."

b. Substitution of the verbal suffix /In/ for /iŋ/: "Gettin' back to this Indian education"; "we're tryin' to teach Lakota."

c. Reduction of final and medial consonant clusters: "When I firs' start' workin' here"; "Da gues' sit over dere."

d. Schwa-intrusion (possibly transferred from Lakota, where it is common): "Og(ə)lala," "Eng(ə)lish," "moder(ə)n," "pic(ə)ture."

e. Loss of palatalization: "Ind'an," "carr' on " [carry on].

Morphological:

a. Lack of subject-verb agreement: "My brother, he do that every day"; "I was teaching the bigger ones that knows how to read and write."

b. Variable inflection for person and number: "There's two way of talkin'"; "One of that word is . . ."; "This is all mix-blood childrens."

c. Lack of referential agreement: "They don't have this modern sound systems"; "We have most of the things . . . we made it right here."

d. Variable tense and aspect marking: "I had enough of that when I hafta teach in the whole school"; "Our childrens are start . . . really mixing up"; "He got kill here."

e. Variable gender and case marking: "Tell him [her] to get over here"; "He [she] can cash it"; "Me is here."

Syntactic/discursive:

a. Deletion of function words: "You wanna go bathroom?" "They live New York"; "He go town—he make fire cook."

b. Absence of copula or use of invariant *be*: "This my grandpa"; So that's where we goin'"; "They be goin' home"; "This room too small."

c. Multiple negation: "We don't have no air conditioning"; "A boy who doesn't know nothin'."

d. Inverted word order: "Is that how old is he?" "What's he doing there is, he announcing."

e. Topic/comment construction: "What you read, you must try to remember what you've read." "English person, they don't know guttural." (This last is a pervasive discourse feature which may be transferred from Lakota patterns of narration, as one Native teacher explained to his class: "I wonder which language is reversed, the English or the Lakota? Our words are always, the subject [i.e., topic] always comes first.")

It is clear that, with the few exceptions noted, these dialectal features are not unlike those observed, in greater or lesser frequency, in other nonstandard varieties of American English, including Black English Vernacular, Appalachian English, Chicano English, and others. What is most interesting about these samples is their source; spoken mainly by adults, and even by teachers, they bear witness to the widespread use of the nonstandard variety across age groups and even across socioeconomic levels (although the latter term is less than fully distinctive on the reservations, where 85% unemployment is common). Moreover, while one might predict a decreased use of such forms among the school-age generation because of the influence of the mass media as well as the increased presence of non-Indian children in the schools, especially in border areas and in non-reservation urban centers like Rapid City and Pierre and Sioux Falls, samples of both speaking and writing collected by non-Indian teachers in the high schools and colleges on both Pine Ridge and Rosebud reveal the same features to be present to a marked degree, often to the point of causing a virtual breakdown in communication, particularly on the spoken level, between the novice teacher and his or her pupils. The collectors of these samples are convinced both of the need for instruction in Standard English as a Second Dialect and of the desirability of hiring resident linguists (or linguist-educators) to serve as advisers and curriculum developers in the schools (cf. Noll 1980 and Smith 1981). Regardless of whether ESL pull-out classes or English-only instruction is used, they are concerned that without such assistance their students are doomed to less than successful competition in the off-reservation society which increasing numbers of them will enter.

Several predominantly Indian communities have instituted Lakota-English bilingual education programs under one aegis or another, and particularly since the change in terminology from LESA to LEP opened up Title VII funds to schools of primarily English-only children; in addition, the liberalization of the definition of bilingual-bicultural education to include pull-out ESL and native language instruction has allowed readier access to such funds. In 1975-76 only one school in the country offered Lakota and English bilingual instruction (Loneman Day School in Oglala, S.D.); at present, schools all across the state of South Dakota have some sort of bilingual-bicultural program, either under Title VII or, increasingly, under Title IV (Indian Studies) auspices, which are deemed easier to get than are budget-constricted Title VII monies. In addition, Title I programs for math and reading remediation allow for some use of bilingual instruction. In the remainder of this article, I would like briefly to survey a few of these programs, pointing out common problems and some innovative approaches in three areas of concern to bilingual educators: amount of time spent in native language instruction and use in the classroom; teacher preparation and proficiency; and the issue of maintenance vs. transition in the programs.[2]

NATIVE LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION AND USE

The oldest federally run boarding school in the country, the Indian High School at Flandreau, S.D., has over 40 tribal language groups represented from eight to ten states yet currently offers no Indian language instruction except on an occasional and ad hoc basis; moreover, it offers no special English language tutoring, even though the principal acknowledged that many of the students, particularly the Crow, are weak in standard English skills. In contrast, at least two reservation schools require from 30 to 45 minutes of instruction per day through the medium of Lakota in grades K-3; one added grade 4 last year, and the other is adding grades 4–6 this year. While this may seem to be precious little time, considering the fact that 30–40% of the children in both schools speak Lakota in some form at home, it is time spent on regular content, randomly determined by regular classroom teachers throughout the day. In addition, Loneman School provides Lakota as a Second Language instruction daily for seventh and eighth graders; the teacher, the most highly skilled classroom instructor I observed in my visits, code-switches between Lakota and English randomly both in the Lakota class and throughout the rest of the day, even during mathematics and English language arts classes.

Somewhat less ambitiously, two well known, originally mission schools in the state operate extensive Indian Studies programs, with Lakota as a Second Language classes taught throughout grades 1–8 but within designated class periods only. St. Francis School, formerly Jesuit-run but now a contract school (i.e., granted local control by the Bureau of Indian Affairs), continues Lakota classes throughout high school as well. Red Cloud Indian School, still mission-operated, offers at the other end of the spectrum a most imaginative Montessori program in Lakota Arts, conducted by a veteran male teacher from a highly respected reservation family—not an unwise way to gain the interest and respect of non-Lakota speaking four- and five-year-olds. However, despite efforts at both schools to *go immersion*, that is, to use only Lakota during the half hour or hour spent in Lakota Studies each day, and despite a plethora of beautifully produced and illustrated readers and workbooks at both schools, the time spent is clearly not enough to offset the encroachment of

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[2] I wish to express my gratitude to the many teachers, administrators, and members of the Pine Ridge and Rosebud communities who contributed information and materials so generously during my visit to South Dakota, among them Wayne Johnson of the Flandreau Indian School; Maurice Twiss and Levi Left Hand of the Shannon County schools; Collins Jordon, Angeline Rabbit, Linda Henry, Albert White Hat, and Chris and Nellie Eagle Thunder of St. Francis; Matthew Two Bulls, Leo American Horse, Hildegarde Catches, and Fr. Paul Manhart of the Red Cloud Indian School; Duane Ross and Jerry Dearly of Loneman school; Vivian One Feather and Tom Vocu of Wolf Creek school; Bill Noll, Birgil Kills Straight, and Shirley Murphy of Little Wound school; Jeanne Smith and Warfield Moose of Oglala Sioux Community College; Ilene Iron Cloud of the Rapid City schools; Kay Farmer, Nancy Smith, and Sr. Irene Demarius of Sisseton; and Mrs. Elsie Cavender of Granite Falls, Minnesota. Steve and Rose Chesarek of Billings, Montana made helpful comments and alerted me to studies of Crow-English bilingual programs following the initial presentation of this paper at the annual TESOL convention in Toronto in March 1983.

English or to deeply engage the children's interest in language study in a way that might have carryover value to the improvement of their English skills; neither Lakota nor English is demonstrably advanced by the program at either school, and the teachers readily admit this.[3]

Somewhere midway between these two approaches is that of the state-run public schools. At Rapid City, for example, two elementary, one junior high school, and one senior high school offer LSL and ESL instruction, with eight computers and six teacher-aides to help. The Shannon County School at Batesland, on the Pine Ridge border, teaches Lakota two days a week to classes consisting of roughly half Indians and half whites; it has developed an extensive battery of tests in both Lakota and English which is being used by reservation schools at Pine Ridge and Rosebud as well. The final category of programs is that offered on an after-school-hours basis in various public schools with funding under the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934; typical is the program operated on the Sisseton reservation, where of 85 local teachers only two are Indian and where only 30 children in grades 1-8 have been induced to attend after-school Dakota classes. (The public school at Granite Falls, Minnesota also operates an after-school instructional program in the Dakota, or Santee, dialect.)

TEACHER PREPARATION AND PROFICIENCY

The common thread running through all my conversations with teachers themselves was the lack of adequate teacher training in the techniques and methodology of Native language and culture instruction. Many of the regular teachers were drafted into their jobs because of native speaking proficiency only; in contrast, most of the aides were college students in teacher training programs (for either the Associate of Arts or the B.A. degree) hired to assist non-Lakota teachers, and they knew little Lakota and were particularly weak in literacy skills. Thus while aides were supposedly reinforcing English instruction by rephrasing content material in Lakota from time to time, they were hardly able to more than mouth choppy phrases in a pidgin Lakota. A veteran native teacher commented in disgust at the failure of aides to read and write and therefore to use the Lakota matrerial at hand, "They have [these] real good books and they don't use 'em."

In spite of this deficiency, one school is boldly requiring the study and use of Lakota by all its elementary teachers, Indian and white alike, regardless of age, nonresidence on the reservation, or previous lack of second language learning experience. At Loneman school, the after-hours study of Lakota at the local branch of the Oglala Sioux Community College is a new phenomenon, since all teachers, even 30-year veterans, are now required to use Lakota in some form or other for 30 minutes a day. (Little Wound school, with its similar 45-minute daily requirement, has less of a remedial task, since 16 of its 17 elementary teachers are native Lakota speakers; it also has a high school teacher of Lakota and English who has an M.A. in linguistics from San Diego State University.) Still, the need for literate teachers and aides is a real one, and the problem is only compounded by the failure of the tribal groups to agree on a standard orthography and marking system for a language which has been written down, and then usually only by linguists and missionaries, for little more than a century.

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[3] While I would hesitate to label the resulting lack of fluency "semilingualism" in the sense used by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), the bilingualism achieved in these schools is not yet truly additive (cf. Cummins 1980, 1981), that is, the students' English language skills do not appear to be enriched by virtue of the addition of Lakota instruction. However, standardized testing has yet to be done since the inception of most of the programs surveyed, and judgements of the students' academic language proficiency are therefore premature.

MAINTENANCE OR TRANSITION

It is obvious from the foregoing discussion that the effort to maintain Lakota proficiency is fraught with problems; indeed, more than one educator admitted to me off the record that there is little hope for the survival of Lakota beyond one or two more generations. Saville-Torike's (1978) warning that maintenance bilingual-bicultural programs are the only way to prevent Indian "linguicide" may be true in theory, but such programs must do more than merely foster "Indianness," or "feeling good about oneself," the justification offered for one such program by its director, himself the non-Lakota speaking son of fluent Lakota parents. The language will die too unless it is adapted in grammar and lexicon to fit modern needs; as Grobsmith (1979) has pointed out, its semi-polysynthetic system has already been considerably simplified for "ordinary" use, and twentieth century words like "cancer" have been, and must continue to be, transposed into usable Lakota, despite the fear of some that the sacredness of the language will be violated thereby.

In the meantime, however, all the existing Lakota-English programs are in truth transition programs, since in effect they recognize, by granting only a half hour or more per day to the ancestral language, that English will inevitably be the language of use for virtually all their students. Not even one 50% Lakota/50% English bilingual program exists in the state, much less a total immersion program. In light of this fact, more attention might well be given to the equally acknowledged fact that the English spoken on the reservations, and by many Lakota Sioux off the reservations as well, is a nonstandard variety but one which can be analyzed for its systematic gramatical features; moreover, it can be validated as an old and continuing dialectal form through the collection of contemporary attestations like those appended as well as of recorded historical and folk-literary narratives like those collected by Theisz (1975) and Cash and Hoover (1971). Instruction in Standard English as a Second Dialect, together with Native history and culture courses, might well become the program of first choice for many schools in the light of sch evidence (cf. Spolsky 1982 and Bauman 1980 for discussions of similar alternative options). Assuming the continuation of efforts to "broaden the range of instructional approaches" eligible for inclusion under Title VII guidelines (cf. NCBE *Forum*, Nov.-Dec. 1983, p. 3), and assuming the continued success of efforts to forestall threatened budget cuts in the program (a fingers-crossed assumption, to be sure, in these uncertain times), we may be forced to agree with Marilyn Frank of the Cheyenne River reservation schools at Eagle Butte that the realistic goal of all such programs in the future must be to "acquaint all children with some of the language and culture of another people, to help students with limited English proficiency, and to improve self-esteem through an understanding and knowledge of [Native students'] cultural heritage" (Rapid City *Journal*, Aug. 20, 1982, p. 3).

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APPENDIX

Examples of Lakota English Variation on Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations

Phonology

A. (th) variation
1) Dey have dis real good books and dey don' use 'em.
2) So it's real innteresting—tings dose kids should know about.
3) Nort' Dakota, Sout' Dakota (general)

B. (ing) variation
4) Gettin' back to this Indian education.
5) If you speak 'em nothin' but Indian, dey won' unnerstan'.
6) Right now I'm goin' on total physical, like, ah, total immersion.

C. Consonant cluster reduction
7) Dey really soun' funny.
8) When I firs' start' workin' here,
9) I din' realize it's dat hard when I firs' started.
10) Da gues' sit over dere. (pl).
11) We have to stay bilingual all 'e time.
12) Innit good? (isn't it)
13) If M. knew better, she could 'a' walked up to him and said . . .
14) Ol'est might be 'bout five years ol', the younges' t'ree years ol'.
15) I don' tink you could keep any studen's more dan 35 minutes.
16) We're havin' some impack now.

D. Schwa intrusion
17) Oglala /ogəlala/ Sinte Gleska /gəlɛška/
18) English /ɪŋgəlɪš/ , /ɛŋgəlɪš/
19) modern /madɛren/
20) picture /pɪkəčUr/
21) children /čɪldərən/ , /čɪldərn/

E. Loss of palatalization
22) Indian /Indən/
23) carry on /kɛr: an/

F. Miscellaneous phonetic realizations
I /a/, my /ma/
(un) til /tɛl/
really /riə: li/
regular /rɛgələr/
Missour' River
dishes /dišəz/
milk /mɛlk/
finger /fɪŋer/
callers /kalerz/
water /waDer/ , /wad/ , /wa:/

Morphology

A. Lack of S-V agreement

24) So when I was teaching the bigger ones that knows how to read and write . . .
25) Their childrens, now, they's all speaking English, and that's the one we're tryin' to teach Lakota. . .
26) Is there any other stories you remember?
27) He don't make 'em anymore.
28) My brother, he do that every day.

B. Deletion (or double marking) of plural inflection

29) You find some other, two different thing, each one . . .
29b) Here is a worksheet, one of the worksheet.
30) There's two way of talking.
31) Sometimes it's almost 500 dancers, man (pl.) and women together.
32) The menfolks on 'e bottom, and 'e middle one is 'e woman (pl.), and the top one is 'e chil'ern.
33) One of that word is . . .
34) This is all mix-blood childrens.

C. Lack of modifier-noun or noun-referent agreement

35) We made most of the things around here—we made it right here.
35b) They have this real good books and they don't use 'em.
36) They don't have this modern sound systems.
37) Their childrens now, they's all speaking English, and that's the one we're trying to teach Lakota.
38) They ate every pieces (of candy).

D. Tense shifting

39) I had enough of that when I hafta teach in the whole school; we do a lotta writing, reading then.
40) So what I done is, I drop the whole high school group.
41) So I came back and I stick with the elementary.
42) Four years I teach the whole school, you know—I was young . . .

E. *Be/have* auxiliary + uninflected verb of aspect

43) Our childrens are start, ya know, really mixing up.
44) He got kill here.
45) The marshals was just keep shooting at us.

F. Count/noncount variation

46) Some of you will probably be faced with additions, or subtractions.
47) That's a mathematic in Lakota.
48) You want a candy?
49) (We ride) much horses.

G. Case and gender variation

50) Tell him [her] to get over here.
51) He [she] can cash it.
52) He said (pointing to his wife) . . .
53) Me is here (wall graffitti)

Syntax

A. Deletion of function words and *do* auxiliary

54) I color [with] this.
55) We like to ride horse.

56) You wanna go bathroom?
57) We have bacon in morning.
58) He go town—he make fire [to] cook.
59) Reagan's gon' cut money we get.
60) They live New York.
61) You use lipstick?
62) Some of 'em, they understand little bit.
62b) What ________ mean?

B. Uninflected (or omitted) *be*
63) They come out and they blind for three weeks.
64) This my grandpa, and my dad.
65) So that's where we goin'.
66) They be goin' home.
67) This room too small to do writing and reading in.
68) What do you suppose values of the Lakota people?
68b) Where you comin' from? Where you goin' now?

C. Existential *it/there* variation
69) Sometimes it's almost 500 dancers, man and women together.

D. Multiple negation
70) We don't have no air conditioning.
71) If nobody don't teach 'em (the language will die).
72) A boy who doesn't know nothin' . . .

E. Inverted sentence order
73) Is that how old is he?
74) You hafta use English (to) tell 'em what's all about.
75) What's he doing there is, he announcing. (declarative)

F. Pronominal apposition (renaming NP/topic)
76) What you read, you must try to remember what you've read.
76b) Mrs. ________, she does the beadwork.
77) Then the afternoon group, they come in.
78) And some of 'em, they knew before.
79) English person, they don't know guttural.
80) I can talk to the students, one of them (one at a time).
81) The parents will, at home, they all speak English.
82) All the neighbor boys, childrens, that he play with, they all speak English.
83) I wonder which language is reversed, the English or the Lakota? Our words are always, the subject always comes first. . . . Especially the day, we come to know the day, we thinking about the kind of day it is.
84) The parents, they all say, they don't, even themselves, don't know how to speak Lakota—some of 'em, they understand little bit. And instead of, their children are learning Lakota. And from the parents, they come and they said, they learn from their children to say Indian words!
85) 'Way back in history dey tell some stories, dese old people, dey tell what's goin' on, to teach da children what's goin' on.
86) On'y thing different among us in dis Sou' Dakota bands, different reservations, we're all Siouxs and we speak da same language, but—da on'y difference is dialect.

ESL Readers' Internalized Models of the Reading Process[1]

Joanne Devine

Models of reading represent a set of assumptions about what happens when people read, that is, about the ways that the readers go about deriving meaning from a printed text and the relative importance of various aspects of the reading process. For a reader approaching a text, a model of reading can be regarded as the guiding principles by which that reader will process the information available. As Harste and Burke (1977) explain, an internalized model of reading—in their term a "theoretical orientation"—is a ". . . system of assumptions through which experiences [in this case, the experience of confronting printed material] are organized and acted upon . . . [they are] schemata which govern behavior" (1977:1). A current view informing much of the work in ESL reading is that investigations of reading in a second language and instructional materials should be based on a clearly articulated and consistently applied model of the reading process (see, for example, Rigg, 1977; Clarke and Silberstein, 1977; Hudelston, 1980; Renault, 1981; and Rigg, 1981). Frequently, however, little attention is paid in practice to the actual internalized models of reading that L2 readers may bring to a text.

Studies of children learning to read in their native language have focused on readers' theoretical orientations or models of reading. Harste and Burke (1977) and Rhodes (1979) found that even very young readers (age six) could explain what they did when reading and were able to articulate their notions about what constitutes good reading. These researchers identified three distinct models of the reading process held by the young native readers they studied, models based on the language focus and unit emphasized: first, a decoding or sound-centered model; second, a skills or word-centered model; and finally, a meaning-centered model (more later

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on these models). When the theoretical orientations of these readers were later compared to examples of the subjects' oral reading, it was found that the way these readers conceive of the reading process affects both how the task is approached and to some extent the success of the effort. In discussing ten subjects whose oral responses to questions about reading indicated that they held a sound-centered model of reading, that is, a model orientated towards identifying the individual sounds of the text words, Rhodes concludes:

> The children's theoretical orientations had a limiting and pervasive influence on reading strategies . . . ; all ten children focused on the graphophonic system and did not effectively use the syntactic and semantic systems while reading . . . (1979:144).

Studies like those of Rhodes, Harste and Burke, and others which demonstrate a relationship between models of reading more or less imposed by instructional methods and patterns of oral reading errors (Delawater, 1975; Dank, 1976; Ogle, 1974; and Norton, 1976) provide convincing evidence that readers possess internalized models of the reading process and that these models affect reading performance. These results raise a number of important questions about ESL reading: how do second language learners conceive of the reading process and how might their internalized models influence reading behavior? The current investigation was designed to offer preliminary answers to these questions.

Specifically, the study attempts to determine what internalized models of reading beginning ESL students may have and to assess the impact of these models on their reading performance. Two general hypotheses were formulated concerning these readers. First, the readers would have internalized models of reading which they could articulate and second, that these models would affect reading performance in two ways: in the type of print information the reader focuses on in reading and in the success of the reader in understanding textual meaning.

A note of caution should be voiced at this point. Attempts to characterize intricate cognitive activities, such as those involved in language use, present special problems for a researcher. It is often difficult for language users to articulate models of complex mental processes because these mental operations are not available for introspection in the usual sense. For a non-native speaker of a language this difficulty may be compounded by an inability to express ideas in a new language. Furthermore, as many researchers have noted, cognitive processes may involve a number of strategies; positing a single underlying model may be a vast oversimplification. In the case of reading, for example, a language user might employ one strategy for reading a novel, and quite a different strategy for reading scientific or technical material. Results of the current study should be interpreted with this caution in mind.

THE STUDY

Subjects

The research investigated the theoretical orientation and reading performance of twenty students studying in a community-based ESL program in East Lansing, Michigan. All were beginning/low intermediate level students (level two in a program with four proficiency levels), as determined by the University of Michigan

Placement Test. The 18 females and 2 males reported on came from a wide variety of language backgrounds including Spanish, Arabic, Korean, Polish, Hungarian, Farsi, Portuguese, Chinese and Woolof. Their experience with English was equally varied; a third of the students had not formally studied English before enrolling in the program, while the remaining two-thirds had studied English either in the United States or in their native countries, for periods ranging from six months to a full ten years. Only two of the subjects had not finished high school; nine were high school graduates; and nine had completed college. The ages of the participants ranged from 19 to 40.

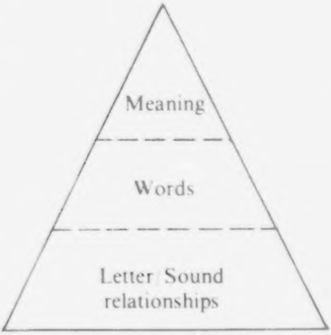
Data Collection and Analysis

In order to test the hypothesis that these readers would be able to verbalize their theoretical orientations towards reading and that the orientations would affect reading performance, three sets of data were gathered for each subject: an oral reading interview, a sample of oral reading, and a retelling (summary) of the oral reading. In the reading interview, an audiotape was made of the subjects' responses to questions designed to uncover general attitudes about reading, ideas about what constitutes good/effective reading, notions about the relative importance of various aspects of reading (for example, word recognition and concept understanding), and information about the way individual readers use the various cues available in a printed text. The format of the interview was adapted from Burke (1978); examples of the questions appear in Appendix A.

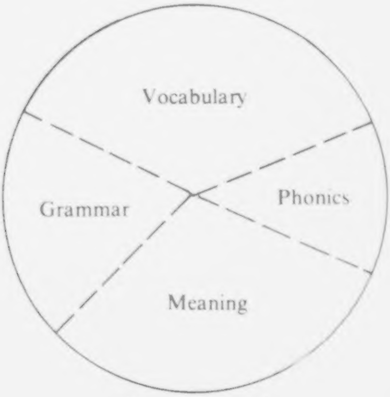
Transcripts of the reading interviews were closely examined by at least two researchers for any statements providing evidence of the readers' theoretical orientations. Depending on the language units they profess to focus on or indicated they considered important to effective reading, the subjects were classified as sound-, word-, or meaning-orientated, using models postulated by Harste and Burke (1977). It should be noted that there are problems with the use of oral reading interviews. Subjects may indeed possess models of reading that they are unable to articulate because of limited proficiency in oral expression. In addition, there are undoubtedly models of the reading process other than the three mentioned above that the readers may be operating from (for example, highly idiosyncratic models in which the reader attempts to memorize entire texts, or approaches involving the use of information not derived directly from the texts, as suggested by schema theory). These classifications were used to group reader responses because they provide an easy, if arguably oversimplified, way of focusing on readers' theoretical orientations based solely on measureable textual features. Furthermore, various studies using the Reading Interview indicate that readers do indeed possess internalized models of the reading process that can legitimately be classified as sound-, word-, or meaning-orientated.

Figure 1 provides a graphic illustration of the three models of the reading process mentioned above. In a sound-orientated model, a reader believes that written language should be broken down and approached on the level of sound. Once the sounds of the language have been correctly identified, the reader may then build words and eventually meaning from the information in the text; however, in this view of reading it is sounds, not words or meaning, that are the most important. Readers possessing a sound-centered model will often insist that sounds must be treated in isolation from the other aspects of reading. In fact, for these readers, a mastery of sounds, as evidenced by *good* pronunciation, appears to define good

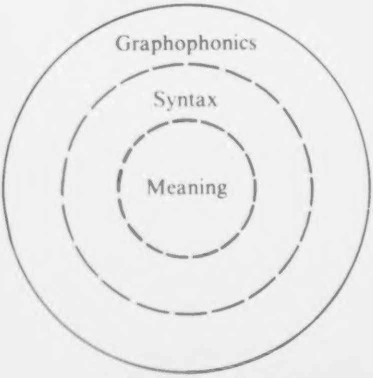
Figure 1. Three Models of the Reading Process (see Harste and Burke, 1977)


Meaning
Words
Letter/Sound relationships

Sound-Centered


Vocabulary
Grammar
Phonics
Meaning

Word-Centered


Graphophonics
Syntax
Meaning

Meaning-Centered

reading. The readers of the current study who were classified as sound-orientated responded to questions about what makes reading difficult for them with answers such as "the sounds," "the pronunciation," and "the alphabet." When asked to name and describe a good reader, a subject from this group offered the following typical answer: "My teacher . . . he pronounces . . . beautiful and slow."

Readers who have a word-centered model of reading emphasize the importance of learning vocabulary items as a way to insure good reading. One word-centered reader in the current study neatly summarized this approach to reading: "I am a student of words." Word-centered readers stress the importance of the dictionary in reading; they seem to consider individual vocabulary items so important that they will stop their reading to consult the dictionary or ask someone what the words mean. Another reader in this research explained: "If it [something she does not understand] is important I can discover it in the dictionary. It is not important that I try to know the meaning while I read, but the words." This type of reader believes that word recognition is a necessary prerequisite to effective reading; it may in fact constitute good reading for word-centered readers. Meaning, then, becomes a collection of the meanings of individual words in the text. As the diagram in Figure 1 illustrates, reading is viewed as the sum of a number of skills, the most important of which is word recognition; other skills may contribute to the process—grammar for instance, was mentioned by three of the readers in the current study as important—but only after vocabulary.

Readers possessing a meaning-centered model of reading regarded the ability to understand the meaning of a text as the measure of success in reading. Readers of this type reject the notion that meaning can be found in sounds, words, or even the grammatical structures found in the text; rather they use this information to help them determine the meaning. Meaning-centered readers often guess the meaning of things they don't understand in a text, using the sounds, words and grammar to help formulate their guesses. Although meaning-centered readers do at times consult a dictionary, their attitudes about word recognition are decidedly different from those with a word-centered approach. A reader in this study explained: "I just try to read and if I can't, I guess the meaning. If I don't know a word, I just write the word on the paper. I don't want to use the dictionary." Another reader suggested that rereading, rather than consulting a dictionary, was the best way to understand meaning.

In addition to the taped reading interview, two other sets of data were gathered from each subject: a sample of an oral reading of a short story reading selection and an unaided retelling (or summary) of that selection. The insights concerning the readers' theoretical orientations provided by the reading interview were eventually compared to the subjects' oral reading behavior and to their retellings in order to assess the impact of the readers' internalized models on reading performance. The procedures for collecting tapes of oral reading and unaided retelling followed Goodman and Burke (1972). Various researchers have discussed the difficulties and problems inherent in evaluating reading through the use of oral reading samples. Clarke (1979) points out that oral reading studies are based on the untested assumption that oral reading is equivalent to silent reading. He also questions the reliability of assessments of reading proficiency based on subjects' oral retellings, noting the difficulty of getting readers to provide a full account of what they remember (and in some cases of getting readers to speak at all); the evaluation of these open-ended retellings is also problematic. Wixson (1979) and Leu (1982) discuss these and other methodological issues involved in the use of oral reading data. These concerns clearly deserve attention in future reading research. It was thought, however, that for the current study, an oral reading would provide the best, perhaps the only, view of the specific ways readers applied their internalized models of reading to actual encounters with a text.

In order to obtain a detailed picture of the reading behavior of the subjects that might later be compared to models of reading identified through the reading interview, a Miscue Analysis was performed on each subject's oral reading. This analysis examines every deviation from the printed text (each *miscue*) in terms of its relationship to the graphophonic, syntactic, and semantic features of the text.[2] Based on information obtained from the Miscue Analysis, profiles were constructed of the readers' use of the various cues available in the text—sound/letter, grammatical and meaning cues—and their production of non-word substitutions. These profiles were later used to determine what influence, if any, the internalized models of the reading process the subjects possessed had on the types of cues focused on in the actual reading.

The retellings of summaries of the oral reading were transcribed and evaluated on a very broad six-point scale ranging from very poor to excellent, depending on the amount and accuracy of the information the subject could provide about the characters, events, and implied meaning of the story. In subsequent comparisons of the subjects' theoretical orientations towards reading and their comprehension of the text, these retelling evaluations were treated as the measure of reader success in understanding the story.

Results

Two hypotheses were earlier posited concerning beginning ESL readers' internalized models of the reading process and the impact of these models on reading performance:

1. the readers would have internalized models which they could articulate
2. these models (or theoretical orientations) would affect reading performance in two ways—
   a. in the type of print information the reader focuses on in reading
   b. in the success of the reader in understanding textual meaning.

To test Hypothesis One, the reading interview was used to determine what theoretical orientations, if any, the readers might hold about reading. For Hypothesis Two, the oral reading and retellings were treated as two different measures of reading performance to which the subjects' models of reading might be compared. The analysis of the oral readings provided profiles of the subjects' use of the various cues available in the text and the retellings supplied information about the reader comprehension of the text material.

Hypothesis One: Readers will have internalized models of the reading process that they can articulate. Only one of the twenty readers in the current study could not offer any answers to questions concerning her reading behavior; her failure to provide this information might indeed mean that this reader has no clearly developed theoretical orientation towards reading. On the basis of her answers to the interview questions, however, it seems more likely that this subject simply did not understand the questions being put to her. Of the 19 other readers studied, 6 were classified as sound-centered, 7 as word-centered, and the remaining 6 as meaning-centered.

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[2] Readers who are unfamiliar with Miscue Analysis or who would like more information on Psycholinguistics and Reading are referred to works in the bibliography by Goodman, Smith, and Weaver.

Although many of the subjects, especially those with word and meaning orientations, indicated that they used more than one strategy in their reading, the importance they attributed to the various cues available in the text eliminated most of the possible ambiguities in classifying these ESL readers. For example, Marina, designated a meaning-centered reader, conceded that there are many words that she does not understand when she reads in English. However, she makes it quite clear that for her, meaning, not word identification, is central to good reading.

> Researcher: What do you do when you don't understand something?
> Marina: Sometimes I look the word up in the dictionary, but usually I guess. It is important that I understand the whole meaning.

On the other hand, a word-centered reader, after citing both grammar and meaning as important for successful reading, went on to explain how she dealt with problematic material encountered in a text: "The dictionary, my main help is the dictionary . . . people from the United States don't have the problem with reading; they don't need the dictionary because they learn the words to read . . ." The results of the reading interview appear to confirm the first hypothesis; these beginning ESL students do have internalized models of the reading process which they bring to the reading task. Nineteen of the twenty subjects of the current investigation were able to articulate these theoretical orientations unambiguously enough to allow their classification as sound-, word-, or meaning-centered readers. The second hypothesis deals with the impact of these internalized models on actual reading performance.

Hypothesis Two. Models of reading will affect reading performance in two ways: (a) in the type of print information focused on and (b) in comprehension of text meaning. In order to test the first part of this hypothesis, the profiles of the subjects' use of the graphonic, syntactic and semantic cueing systems in their reading, derived from the Miscue Analysis of the oral readings, were compared to the theoretical orientations determined through the reading interviews. The expectation is that a correspondence will exist between the model of reading and the degree to which the reader employs the various cueing systems available in the text. It is expected, for instance, that sound-centered readers will focus most heavily on the sounds and letters of the text words (see Figure 1). As a result, their miscues will bear a high similarity to the graphic and sound features of the expected responses; their use of meaning cues available in the text, as seen through the semantic acceptability of their miscues, would consequently be diminished because of this over-reliance on print information at the expense of meaning. The use of syntactic cues would perhaps not be greatly affected since miscue studies show that all readers tend to produce a very high percentage of syntactically acceptable miscues. In addition, sound-centered readers would be likely to produce a relatively high number of non-words in their oral reading. These non-words would closely match the letters and sounds of the text word, the central concern of this type of reader.

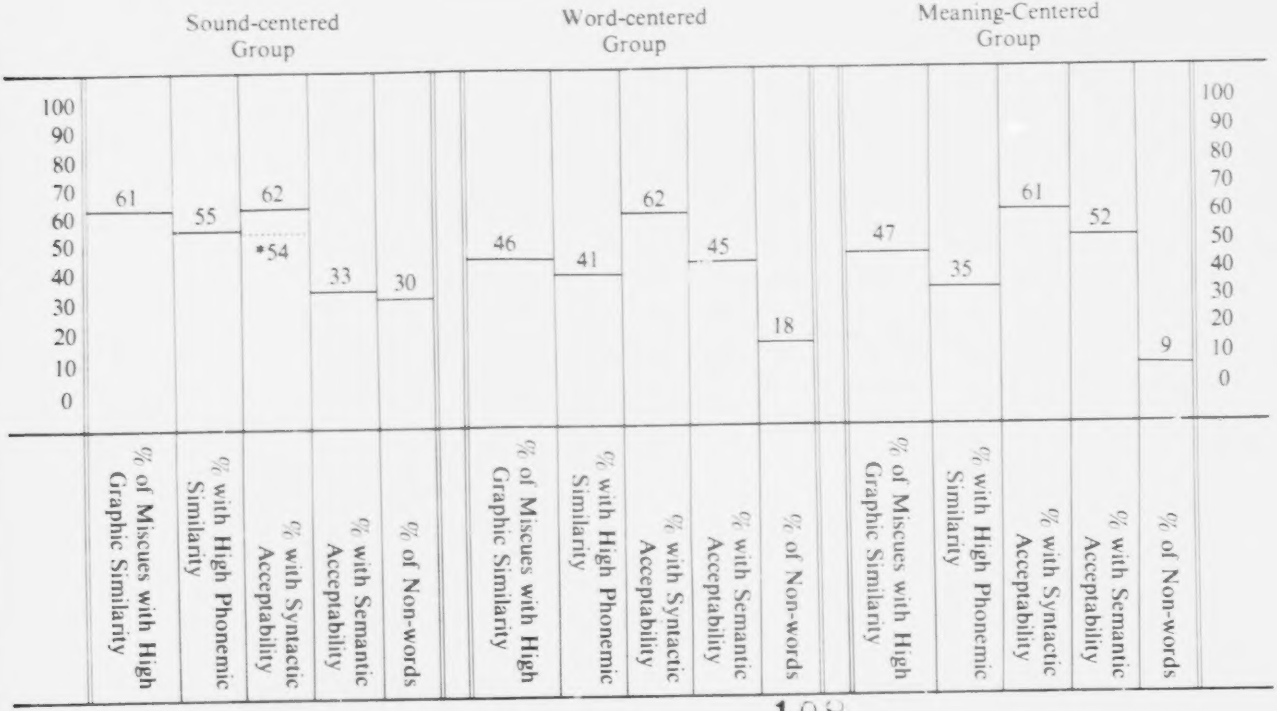
The strategies of both word- and meaning-centered readers would result in less reliance on the graphophonic cueing system. The degree of similarity between their miscues and the expected response, while it might remain high, would be lower than that of the sound-centered readers. Furthermore, their use of the other two cueing systems would be more balanced; this group would tend to use all three types of information available in the text. Although again a high degree of syntactic acceptability was expected, the chief difference between the profiles of these different groups of readers would be in their concern for preserving the semantic features of the expected response. Meaning-centered readers might be expected to have a higher percentage of semantically acceptable miscues because of their concern for understanding the meaning of the text, that is, for making sense of what they read. Both groups of readers would have a lower percentage of non-word miscues, the word-centered subjects due to their concern for identifying actual words, and the meaning-centered readers because of their attempts to preserve sense and meaning in their reading. For both groups, it is expected that there will be more balance in the use of graphic and semantic cues than for the sound-centered readers.

Although separate profiles were compiled for the readers (complete information on all the readers in the study appears in Appendix B), the first part of Hypothesis Two can perhaps best be tested by examining the performance of the three groups of readers. As Figure 2 illustrates, profiles of the use of the cueing systems by the groups are in fact different. The use of syntactic information is virtually equal by all groups, a finding consistent with other miscue studies. The profiles for graphophonic and semantic acceptability of miscues closely match those projected for readers with the differing theoretical orientations. Notice especially for the sound-centered readers the high mean scores for graphic and phonemic similarity to the text words (66% and 56%) and the high percentage of non-words produced (30% of all miscues). Notice too the relatively low mean scores for the semantically acceptable miscues (33%) suggesting that sound-oriented subjects' central concern rests primarily with reproducing the sound/letters of the text rather than with preserving meaning. Readers classified as word- and meaning-centered appear to focus less on the words and letters of the text words than those with a sound-orientation. Instead, they use all three types of cues in more equal proportion. As expected, meaning-centered readers produced miscues which were judged semantically acceptable more frequently than those of the word-centered or sound-centered readers (52%—45%—33%). And, although word-centered readers' average percentage of non-words is double that of meaning-oriented readers (18% of all miscues compared to 9%), that mean is still considerably below that of the sound-centered readers (30%).

As noted above, the mean score for syntactic acceptability was almost identical for all groups of readers. Interestingly, however, if non-words, which account for almost one-third of all miscues are eliminated from consideration for the sound-centered readers, the mean score for syntactically acceptable miscues drops to 54%. As has often been noted, non-words may retain the syntactic features of the text word (through inflection, for example), but at the same time may be indicative of readers' use of graphic or sound cues rather than of their use of grammatical information. The same adjustment of non-words for the other groups of readers does not significantly alter the mean scores for syntactic acceptability.

An Analysis of Variance performed on the data in Figure 2 shows the following:

Figure 2. Reading Miscue Analysis: Profile of Readers' Use of Print Information by Groups



*% of Miscues Syntactically Acceptable excluding Non-Words

(1) the *F* (Cueing System), df (3,162) = 8.826; $p < .001$ and (2) the interaction of *F* (Cueing System x Internal Model), df (6,162) = 3.568; $p < .01$. See Table 1. The first result indicates a significant ($p < .001$) difference for the readers in the use of the graphic, phonemic, syntactic, and semantic cueing systems. The interaction of the cueing systems and the reading model is illustrated in the second result: scores for cueing systems depend on the model of reading ($p < .01$). A Tukey's Post Hoc Analysis showed that significant differences exist between the following sets of scores:

—Meaning-Centered Semantic and Sound-Centered Semantic ($p < .01$)
—Sound-Centered Phonemic and Word-Centered Phonemic ($p < .05$)
—Sound-Centered Phonemic and Meaning-Centered Phonemic ($p < .01$)
—Word-Centered Graphic and Sound-Centered Graphic ($p < .05$)

Although within each of the groups of readers there was variation in the use of cueing systems in oral reading (some of this variation will be discussed later), both a broad comparison of the profiles of the three groups' reading behavior and an Analysis of Variance confirm the first part of the second hypothesis. The internalized model of reading that the subjects hold influences the type of print information they focus on in oral reading.

Table 1: ANOVA Summary

Source	SS	df	ms	F	p
Total	143989.8	227			
Internal Model*	305.6	2	152.8	.06	NS
Error	132205.45	54	2448.25		
Cueing Systems**	1448.01	3	482.67	8.826	$p < .001$
Internal Model x Cueing System	1170.82	6	195.14	3.568	$p < .01$
Error	8860.55	162	54.69		

*Internal Models: Word-, Sound,- or Meaning-Centered.
**Cueing Systems: Graphic, Phonemic, Syntactic, and Semantic.

The second part of Hypothesis Two predicts that the theoretical orientation of the reader will affect comprehension. Evaluations of the unaided retellings of the reading selections were used as the measure of the subjects' understanding of the meaning of the text. As with the readers' use of cues, it is here anticipated that the theoretical orientation will influence reading performance. Specifically sound-centered readers will be expected to have little comprehension of what they read since their attention is focused on reproducing the sound and letter units of the text. Word-centered readers would be more successful in understanding meaning than sound-centered readers. Even though the primary interest is individual vocabulary items, these readers nonetheless attempt to build meaning through the identification of words and other features in the text. As the name given the third group implies, meaning-orientated readers would be expected to evidence good comprehension of the meaning of the material.

Table 2 provides a summary of the evaluations of each reader's comprehension of the story. The table shows that the meaning-centered readers demonstrated good to excellent comprehension as predicted. On the other end of the spectrum, the sound-centered readers were judged to have either poor or very poor comprehension

Table 2: Retelling Evaluations by Individual Reader and by Groups

Sound-Centered Readers		Word-Centered Readers		Meaning-Centered Readers	
Reader 1	Poor	Reader 7	Poor	Reader 14	Good
2	Poor	8	Poor	15	Good
3	Very Poor	9	Poor	16	Excellent
4	Very Poor	10	Very Poor	17	Excellent
5	Poor	11	Very Good	18	Very Good
6	Very Poor	12	Fair	19	Excellent
		13	Fair		

of the meaning of the selections they read; these results match the expectations concerning these two groups' internalized models of reading and their reading performance and the second part of Hypothesis Two: the theoretical orientation does seem to affect reader understanding.

The comprehension pattern of the word-centered readers is a bit more problematic. Three of the seven readers were judged to have poor comprehension and two others, fair, results within the expectations for readers with this theoretical orientation and broadly confirming the hypothesis. However, one reader (#10) seems to have very little comprehension while another (#11) apparently comprehended the reading selection very well. The other data on the reading behavior of these two subjects further complicate the picture (data summarized in Table 3). Reader #10 has a low score for the use of graphic information (36%) and a moderate one for the use of phonemic or sound cues (45%). Her syntactic acceptability is the highest recorded for any reader in the study (76% of all miscues syntactically acceptable) and the percentage of her miscues which were semantically acceptable ranks with those of the meaning-centered group (52%). In both the reading interview and the retelling, this subject showed a general reluctance to speak in English and it might be the case that the retelling evaluation (based as it is on information reported by the reader) simply does not reflect the actual reading performance of this reader. Reader #11 also scored quite high for semantic acceptability (55%), but his use of the cueing systems seems fairly balanced (if high for graphic and phonemic similarity). This reader did not share Reader #10's reluctance to speak in English. In both his reading interview and his retelling, he was among the most thorough of all readers. The profile he exhibits—high, but balanced, acceptability for all three cueing systems, along with his very good comprehension—may be typical of L2 readers who are very fluent in oral production. More research is needed on this type of ESL reader.

The somewhat confusing patterns of reading behavior found for these two readers suggest that, as mentioned above, researchers should exercise caution in

Table 3: Readers #10 and #11—Retelling Evaluation and Miscue Profile

	Retelling Evaluation	% of High Graphic Similarity	% of High Phonemic Similarity	% of Syntactic Acceptability	% of Semantic Acceptability
READER #10	Very Poor	36	45	76	52
READER #11	Very Good	62	56	60	55

interpreting the results of studies of second language students' oral reading. Nonetheless a number of clear and interesting trends emerge from the current investigation. To summarize, the study of internalized models of reading of beginning/low intermediate ESL subjects and the impact of those models on reading performance suggests the following conclusions: first, ESL readers do appear to have models of reading which they bring with them to the reading classroom. Nineteen out of twenty subjects could articulate their theoretical orientations towards reading unambiguously enough to be identified as sound-, word-, or meaning-centered. Second, a correspondence exists between the model of reading subjects hold and the type of information (graphic/sound, syntactic, or semantic) that the readers focus on in oral reading. Finally, a further relationship can be found between the internalized model of reading and the success of the reader in comprehending text material.

Implications

What implications do these results suggest? First, instructors involved in the teaching of L2 reading (and perhaps researchers investigating second language reading as well) should recognize that even beginning level students bring to the reading task a set of assumptions and operating principles concerning what is important in reading. And, since these theoretical models appear to affect reading performance in at least two ways—in cues focused on in oral reading and in the comprehension of the text—these instructors should attempt to identify the models that students hold. This might be done informally by having the students as a group discuss questions of the sort addressed in the Reading Interview (see Appendix A). Second, a meaning-centered approach to reading seems to predict more successful comprehension than a word-centered or (especially) a sound-centered approach; instructors might give thought to how they can assist students in adopting reading strategies that could be called *meaning-centered*. Clarke and Silberstein (1977) and Renault (1981) have offered valuable suggestions in this regard. The *language experience* approach seems particularly fruitful in encouraging L2 reading students to focus primary attention on meaning in a written text (see Rigg, 1981). And finally, in connection with the previous suggestion, teachers should be aware that some materials and classroom activities, for example, vocabulary drills and pronunciation practice, might inadvertently reinforce word- or sound-centered internalized models of reading and may very well orient the L2 reader away from meaning.

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APPENDIX A—READING INTERVIEW

Sample Questions from Reading Interview (see Burke, 1978)

1. When you are reading and you come to something you don't understand, what do you do? Do you ever do anything else?
2. Who is a good reader that you know? What makes _____ a good reader?
3. If you knew someone who was having difficulty with reading, how would you help that person?
4. What would you like to do better as a reader?

APPENDIX B—READER PROFILES

	Retelling Evaluation	% of High Graphic Similarity	% of High Phonemic Similarity	% of Syntactic Acceptability	% of Semantic Acceptability	% of Non-words
Sound-Centered						
Reader 1	Poor	59	51	73/60*	38	34
2	Poor	52	48	74/60*	40	26
3	Very Poor	55	65	69/61*	35	23
4	Very Poor	76	57	44/41*	33	23
5	Poor	61	51	50/45*	23	42
6	Very Poor	90	65	65/59*	28	32
Word-Centered						
Reader 7	Poor	64	41	59	40	21
8	Poor	41	33	55	35	24
9	Poor	47	33	68	42	4
10	Very Poor	36	45	76	52	18
11	Very Good	62	56	60	55	13
12	Fair	55	44	67	40	27
13	Fair	33	33	60	48	16
Meaning-Centered						
Reader 14	Good	57	47	60	58	9
15	Good	51	48	59	57	11
16	Excellent	52	33	58	52	9
17	Excellent	34	23	63	55	12
18	Very Good	33	22	55	47	7
19	Excellent	53	39	61	50	7

*Percentage excluding non-words

A Cloze is a Cloze is a Cloze?

James Dean Brown

INTRODUCTION

In 1953, Taylor first discussed a procedure, whereby some of the words in a written text were replaced by blanks and students were required to fill them in. He called this procedure "cloze" from the Gestalt psychology notion of closure, or human ability to fill gaps. Since then, there has been an explosion of research on cloze when applied to native English speakers and, more recently, on its utility among nonnative students of English (for overviews of this research, see Oller 1975; Oller 1979: 340-80).

For native speakers, cloze was originally designed by Taylor as a measure of the readability of texts. A great deal of work followed on this aspect of cloze (Oller 1979: 348-54). As an offshoot of this readability research, a number of studies have also been produced on cloze procedure as a measure of native-speaker reading comprehension ability (Brown 1978: 12-14). Criterion-related validity coefficients were calculated between cloze and various standardized reading tests in these studies. They ranged from .25 to .95. The squared values for these coefficients, .06 to .90, indicate the percent of shared, or overlapping, variance between cloze and the reading test in each study. It is safe to conclude from these results that cloze has been shown to be both a very weak (6 percent) and highly valid (90 percent) test of reading comprehension for native speakers—and almost everything in between as well.

For nonnatives, much of the work has been done on the value of cloze as a test of overall second language proficiency. Often studies focus on one or both of the key characteristics of a test: reliability and validity. For instance, studies have shown that cloze can be fairly reliable, that is, it produces consistent results. Such studies have indicated reliability indices ranging from .53 to .96 for various cloze passages (Darnell 1970; Oller 1972b; Pike 1973; Jonz 1976; Alderson 1979; Mullen 1979; Brown 1980; Hinofotis 1980; Brown 1983). Reliability coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage of reliable (consistent) variance in a test. Thus, cloze passages have been shown to have weak reliability (53 percent reliable variance) as well as high reliability (96 percent reliable variance)—and almost everything in between as well.

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The validity of cloze in second language situations has also been investigated (Conrad 1970; Darnell 1970; Oller and Inal 1971; Oller 1972 a and b; Irvine et al 1974; Stubbs and Tucker 1974; Alderson 1979 and 1980; Brown 1980; Hinofotis 1980; Mullen 1979). Validity is defined as the degree to which a test measures what it claims to be measuring—in this case, overall second language proficiency. Generally, this has been demonstrated (as criterion-related validity) by showing the strength of association between scores on a cloze test and those on a standardized language placement or proficiency examination. Coefficients of .43 to .91 have been reported in these studies. And again, the squared values of these coefficients, .19 to .83, indicate the percent of shared, or overlapping, variance between a given cloze test and the criterion measure. Hence, cloze has been shown to be a weak (19 percent) measure of overall language proficiency, as well as a fairly strong one (83 percent)—and almost everything in between as well.

It appears, then, that the results of studies on the reliability and validity of cloze procedure have varied greatly over the years. And in all fairness, it should be pointed out that investigators were changing cloze in the following ways within and between studies:

1) seven different scoring methods have been used
2) numerous deletion patterns have been tried
3) blank lengths have been modified
4) passage difficulties have been varied
5) test length has been changed
6) and a variety of different samples have been used.

These variables have been manipulated, consciously and unconsciously, in search of more effective ways to construct and interpret cloze tests. Generally speaking, variables one through five above have been purposefully manipulated or controlled in the second-language research. Variable six, the effect of different samples, has not been investigated sufficiently, which seems strange given that cloze procedure was originally shown to be very sample sensitive—so sensitive that readability grade levels could be established by using it (Taylor 1953).

In fact, sampling is an important consideration in many second language studies. After all, it is simple common sense that a sample of nonnative students taken at a university in Great Britain may be quite different from one taken at UCLA or in Papua New Guinea. Just such differences in samples exist in the studies cited above and this variable alone may have much to do with the wide variety of results. For example, Ebel (1979:290-91) has pointed out that the reliability of a set of test scores depends in part on the "range talent" in the group tested. In fact, restrictions in the range of talent can depress both reliability and validity coefficients in general (Shavelson 1981).

The purpose of this study, then, is to investigate the effects of differences in samples on cloze test results by addressing the following more specific research questions:

1) What are the effects of different ranges of talent on the apparent reliability and validity of cloze?
2) What is the strength of relationship between ranges of talent and the reliability and validity coefficients?
3) Do the results generalize to other cloze studies?

METHOD

Subjects

The samples in this study were all randomly selected (to be approximately equal in size) from larger university level populations and consisted of four groups which will be labeled as follows: 1) 1978 sample, 2) 1981 sample, 3) Winter 1982 sample and 4) Spring 1982 sample. The four samples (described in Table 1) differed in many ways, but it is particularly important to notice the way they differed in terms of estimated TOEFL score ranges (see last column). From these estimates, it is clear that the groups differed considerably in the ranges of talent represented in each.

Materials

The cloze passage under investigation here was adapted from *Man and His World* (Kurilecz 1969), an intermediate ESL reader. The passage was 399 words long and had an every 7th word deletion pattern for a total of fifty blanks. To provide context, two sentences were left intact (that is, without blanks) at the beginning of the passage and one at the end.

The measures used to calculate the criterion-related validity coefficients were all standardized (norm-referenced) English language placement or proficiency tests. They differed from sample to sample as follows: 1978 sample—UCLA English as a Second Language Placement Examination (ESLPE) (including listening and reading comprehension, dictation and structure subtests); 1981 sample—Guangzhou English Language Center (GELC) Placement Test (including listening and reading comprehension, as well as writing and structure subtests); Winter 1982 sample—*Test of English as a Second Language Practice Kit Number 1* (including listening, structure and written expression, as well as reading comprehension and vocabulary); Spring 1982 sample—UCLA ESLPE (a shorter version of the ESLPE used above without the dictation subtest).

Procedures

Exactly the same cloze passage was administered to each of the four samples and no more than two weeks separated its administration from that of the validity criterion measure. The cloze test was scored using two scoring methods: the *exact-answer method* (EX), wherein only the word found in the original passage is counted correct, and the *acceptable-word method* (AC), wherein any word acceptable to native speakers is counted correct. The latter method was based on the responses of 77 UCLA freshman composition students (Brown 1978).

Analyses

The descriptive test statistics in this study include the mean (x), standard deviation (S) and range. Cronbach alpha (r_{xx}) internal consistency reliabilities are also given along with criterion-related validity coefficients (r_{xy}). The latter were calculated by determining the correlation between the cloze tests and the criterion measure in question. All correlation coefficients reported in this study are Pearson product-moment coefficients.

Fisher *z* transformations were used whenever correlation coefficients were

Table 1: Sample Descriptions

			Sex		Academic Status					Estimated TOEFL Range
Sample	**Place**	**n**	*M*	*F*	*Extension*	*Undergraduate*	*Graduate*	**Nationalities**	**Major**	
1978	UCLA	55	45%	55%	18%	36%	46%	Numerous (See Brown 1978)	Numerous (See Brown 1978)	very wide (range = ±500)
1981	GELC	45	93%	7%	0	0	100%	Chinese	Engineering (100%)	259-578 (range = 319)
Winter 1982	GELC	45	78%	22%	0	0	100%	Chinese	Biochemistry (38%) Chemistry (33%) Biology (29%)	440-600 (range = 160)
Spring 1982	GELC	45	80%	20%	0	0	100%	Chinese	Engineering (44%) Agriculture (16%) Biology (7%) Other Sciences (33%)	435-515 (range = 80)

compared with standard deviations in order to correct for the non-symmetrical distribution of such coefficients. In general, this is necessary in order to draw correct inferences about sample correlation coefficients which are not near zero (Guilford and Fruchter 1973: 144–46).

RESULTS

Descriptive test characteristics are reported in Table 2 for the cloze test administered to the four different samples. These are the four samples described above. Remember that they were quite different in ranges of talent. These differences were also reflected on the cloze test in terms of test ranges (rows four and ten) and perhaps more accurately in the standard deviations (rows two and eight).

Table 2: Test Characteristics, Both Scoring Methods

Scoring Method	Statistic	1978 (n=55)	1979 (n=45)	Winter 1982 (n=45)	Spring 1982 (n=45)
EX	$\bar{x}$	15.00	23.33	24.36	21.78
	s	8.56	5.59	4.84	3.38
	low-high	0–33	9–31	14–36	13–27
	range	33	22	22	14
	r_{xx}	.90	.73	.68	.31
	r_{xy}	.88	.74	.59	.43
		(ESLPE)	(GELC)	(TOEFL)	(ESLPE)
AC	$\bar{x}$	25.58	35.83	37.80	34.73
	s	12.45	6.71	4.48	4.07
	low-high	0–46	17–46	26–46	21–42
	range	46	29	20	21
	r_{xx}	.95	.83	.66	.53
	r_{xy}	.90	.79	.51	.40
		(ESLPE)	(GELC)	(TOEFL)	(ESLPE)

The Effects of Different Ranges of Talent on the Reliability and Validity of Cloze.

In Table 3, the results are rearranged to illustrate that the reliability and validity coefficients decrease when the range of talent (as represented by standard deviation and test range) decreases. The deletion pattern, blank length, passage difficulty, test length and time allowed for the test were all held constant here while the sample range was systematically varied. The results indicate that a relationship exists between range of talent, and the various reliability and validity coefficients.

Another way of looking at this problem is to adjust the observed reliability coefficients for homogeneity of variances, or restrictions in range (after Magnusson 1967:75). When this is done, it turns out that the adjusted reliability coefficients are all between .95 and .96. Thus, the reliability coefficients would be virtually the same for all of the samples if it were not for the differences in variance. In short, the results here demonstrate that restrictions in range of talent do indeed depress the reliability and validity coefficients consistent with psychometric theory.

Table 3: Ranges of Talent in Relationship to Reliability and Validity of Cloze

Scoring Method and Sample	s	range	r_{xx}	r_{xy}
AC 1978	12.45	46	.95	.90
EX 1978	8.56	33	.90	.88
AC 1981	6.71	29	.83	.79
EX 1981	5.59	22	.73	.74
EX Winter 1982	4.84	22	.68	.59
AC Winter 1982	4.48	20	.66	.51
AC Spring 1982	4.07	21	.53	.40
EX Spring 1982	3.38	14	.31	.43

The Strength of Relationship between Ranges of Talent, and the Reliability and Validity Coefficients.

To evaluate the strength of association between range of talent, and reliability and validity coefficients, correlational analysis was performed. The correlation between standard deviations and reliability coefficients was found to be $r = .97$ for the two scoring methods combined. This indicates that about 93 percent (r^2) of the variation in reliability coefficients can be accounted for by knowing the standard deviations. Likewise, the strength of association between the standard deviations and validity coefficients was found to be $r = .93$ ($r^2 = .86$). In other words, the standard deviation seems to account for about 86 percent of the variation in validity coefficients.

In short, the results here indicate that variations in sample range, whether generated by the sample itself or the scoring method employed, strongly account for differences in the reliability and validity coefficients. This effect is so great that, depending on the sample and scoring method used, this cloze passage may appear to be one of the *best* passages ever reported ($r_{xx} = .90$; $r_{xy} = .95$ for AC 1978) or a hands-down loser of the *worst* ($r_{xx} = .31$; $r_{xy} = .43$ for EX Spring 1982).

Generalizability of the Results to Other Cloze Studies.

In answering this question, only those studies which provided clear and complete information (that is, standard deviation, reliability and validity coefficients) could be considered. In addition, only those based on 50-item passages scored by the EX and AC methods were included. The results of forty different sets of results are presented in Table 4. The correlation between the standard deviations and the reliability estimates throughout Table 4 was found to be .91. The squared value of this coefficient, .83, indicates that about 83 percent of the variation in reliability coefficients is explained by variation in the magnitude of the standard deviations. Likewise, the correlation between the standard deviations and the validity coefficients was .78 which shows that approximately 61 percent of the variation in validity coefficients is explained by variation in the standard deviations.

Notice that both of these relationships were found here even though five different deletion patterns and two scoring methods were combined.

In summary, the cloze literature to date indicates that cloze *may or may not* be highly reliable and valid as a norm-referenced test of overall second language proficiency. The results here indicate that this may be largely due to differences in the

Table 4: Reliability and Validity Related to Standard Deviation (Four Studies)

Study	Deletion	r_{xx}	S	Scoring Method	r_{xy}	(Criterion test)
Oller	7th word	.95	11.5	AC	.89	(ESLPE)
1972		.95	9.6	AC	.89	
		.92	8.8	EX	.87	
		.90	9.2	EX	.85	
		.90	6.6	AC	.80	
		.80	6.0	EX	.73	
Hinofotis	7th word	.85	7.3	AC	.79	(TOEFL)
1980		.61	2.1	EX	.71	
Alderson	12th word	.89	8.8	AC	.85	(ELBA)
1979		.88	8.0	AC	.78	
		.90	7.9	AC	.77	
		.80	6.5	EX	*.67	
		.79	6.3	EX	.70	
		.79	5.6	EX	.65	
	10th word	.87	8.1	AC	.83	(ELBA)
		.89	7.0	AC	.74	
		.80	6.4	AC	.74	
		.79	5.6	EX	.65	
		.69	4.8	EX	.57	
		.69	3.7	EX	*.79	
	8th word	.91	9.6	AC	.87	(ELBA)
		.87	7.9	AC	.77	
		.84	6.3	AC	.69	
		.79	6.3	EX	.70	
		.76	5.3	EX	.68	
		*.81	4.9	EX	.82	
	6th word	.88	8.2	AC	.88	(ELBA)
		.82	7.2	AC	*.67	
		*.84	5.8	AC	*.74	
		.80	5.8	EX	.86	
		.76	5.3	EX	.51	
		.53	4.3	EX	.53	
Present Study	7th word	.95	12.5	AC	.90	(ESLPE)
		.90	8.6	EX	.88	(ESLPE)
		.83	6.7	AC	.79	(GELC)
		.73	5.6	EX	.74	(GELC)
		.68	4.8	EX	.59	(TOEFL)
		.66	4.5	AC	.51	(TOEFL)
		.53	4.1	AC	.40	(ESLPE)
		.31	3.4	EX	.43	(ESLPE)

*Coefficient does not seem to fit the ordering.

way a given cloze passage relates to a given sample. This is consistent with psychometric theory and apparently is a factor in other cloze studies.

DISCUSSION

It should be emphasized that cloze is being viewed here as a norm-referenced test for purposes of placement or proficiency testing in ESL/EFL programs. Thus, the statistical concepts of reliability, validity, etc. are important considerations though they may seem a bit tedious to the hardworking teachers/administrators in the field. To make these results more relevant to those very teachers, both theoretical *and* practical implications will be dicussed here.

Theoretical Implications

To the language testing specialist, the results here may seem obvious, based on knowledge of psychometric theory, to the point of being uninteresting. It may be, however, that the obvious has been overlooked in favor of the fashionable. Put in more scientific terms, the most parsimonious explanations of the phenomena we are observing in cloze testing may be found in the psychometric theory and statistical techniques being used. Or, the tools themselves may hold the clues to clear interpretations of the data.

Let us take for example a rather naive study (Brown 1980), the author of which will most definitely not sue for libel. In this study, four scoring methods were compared on the basis of reliability coefficients (ranging from .89 to .95), validity coefficients (ranging from .88 to .91) and other test characteristics. One conclusion drawn was that "the best *overall* scoring method is the AC method" (p. 316). While this conclusion seemed reasonable at the time based on previous research, information was available in that study, which should have been examined. For instance, the AC scoring method was nearly perfectly centered for the given sample ($\bar{x}$ = 25.58 out of 50) and was the only scoring method for which the subjects were normally distributed (with the highest standard deviation of 12.45). The other three scoring methods produced distributions which were either negatively or positively skewed for the particular samples in question with correspondingly lower standard deviations. In addition, the same cloze passage administered to other samples in China has here been shown to have entirely different distributions in each of the samples with corresponding differences in the reliability and validity coefficients produced.

In short, the results obtained in Brown (1980) might have been quite different had intuition and good luck not guided the researcher to the particular passage and sample of subjects involved. Therefore, a more parsimonious and sensible hypothesis for differences in reliability and validity for different scoring methods (or deletion patterns, difficulty levels, etc.) might be that adjusting any and all variables which help to make a given cloze passage more appropriate for a given sample will correspondingly help to produce a test which is statistically more reliable and valid.

Furthermore, it appears that cloze is not necessarily a reliable, valid and easy to develop test of overall second language proficiency as is often believed (for example, Soudek and Soudek 1983). In fact, it is probably erroneous to say that cloze *is* anything; rather, it would be safer to take the position that cloze tests *are* a "family of item types" (Mullen 1979) which can tap the wide range in the universe of possible language proficiency items (at least in the receptive/productive modes on written material).

It cannot be taken as a foregone conclusion that a given cloze test will be reliable and valid for a given sample because it would be a rare sample whose abilities spanned the entire range of possible items. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make decisions within samples that are more or less narrow in terms of ranges of talent. Therefore, it would seem that a cloze test should be made to *fit* a particular sample if decisions based on the results are to be responsible. This last necessity may preclude the notion that cloze tests are *easy to develop*.

Practical Implications

How can a cloze test be made to fit a given sample? First and foremost, cloze tests should be pretested like any other language tests so that the results can eventually provide clear interpretations. To this end, cloze items can be selected/fitted to a given sample in one of three ways: 1) the hit or miss method, 2) the modification method or 3) the well-tailored cloze method.

The hit or miss method. This shotgun approach to test development would involve selecting a relatively large number of tests, deleting every nth word and administering all of them to a sample of students representative of the group about which decisions would ultimately be made. After analyzing the results, that cloze test which seemed to produce the best distribution of scores could be selected for later decision making. In other words, the cloze passage which seemed to best center the sample (that is, produced a mean of about 50% correct) and which appeared most sensitive to the range of talent in that sample (that is, produced a high standard deviation) could be selected for later use with the entire group.

The modification method. To adopt this method, one cloze passage, which was thought to be intuitively *about the right level* for the group, could be developed and administered to a sample representative of the larger group. After analyzing the results using the EX scoring method, modifications could be made consistent with what has been found in the literature to date. For instance, if the cloze test in question was found to be much too difficult for the group (for example, produced a mean of 25% correct), it seems likely that lengthening the passage and increasing the distance between the blanks (from say every 7th word to every 11th word) would help to better center the scores. Alternatively, the mean could be somewhat artifically increased by using the AC scoring method. Using the AC method has also been shown to produce higher standard deviations in many but not all studies. The modified passage should then be readministered and reanalyzed to see that the desired effects had occurred and that the passage indeed fit the entire group.

The well-tailored cloze. It has been shown (Brown Unpublished ms.) that traditional test development techniques can be applied to a cloze test to increase the reliability of that instrument. Five different, but non-overlapping, every 7th word deletion pattern versions of one passage (50 items each) were administered to random samples of a group of Chinese students who had a very narrow range of talent. Analysis of the results produced item difficulty and discrimination indices for a pool of 250 possible items. From these items the *best* 50 were selected. In other words, those which had item difficulty levels most closely approximating .50 and the highest discrimination indices were chosen. One restriction was placed on this selection process. The distance between items on the final version was to be no less than five words and no more than nine with an average of seven words. The new version of the test was then readministered to the same group after six weeks (to avoid *testing effect*) and found to be much more reliable than the original version with this same group. These results suggest that a cloze test can be tailored to fit a given group in much the same way that discrete-point tests have traditionally been developed (though perhaps without the same precision because of the differences in the context provided in the various versions involved).

Returning to the title of this study, and the overall question involved, it appears that a cloze is not a cloze is not a cloze. In fact, they appear to differ quite widely in effectiveness as norm-referenced instruments. This effectiveness in terms of reliability and validity, appears to be strongly related to how well a given cloze passage fits a given sample. Therefore, pretesting any cloze passage(s) seems absolutely essential so that an appropriate passage can be selected, modifications can be made or a passage can be tailored to fit a particular group of students. Taking some or all of these steps should help to produce a more highly reliable and valid norm-referenced instrument. Only then can adequately responsible decisions be based on the scores of our students on such a test.

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II. PROMISING APPROACHES

INTRODUCTION

In his plenary address, Frank Smith contrasts the stultifying nature of a good deal of current formal instruction with what he identifies as "the creative alternatives." In this section, we include ten examples of innovative classroom practices which have shown promise, at least for the students with whom such approaches have been tried. All ten papers offer theoretical justification for the suggested approaches.

Anna Uhl Chamot identifies the need to provide opportunities for elementary school ESL children to transfer the academic concepts which they have acquired in their first language to their English-medium settings. The program she describes also helps these students to learn new content and to develop study skills within the limits of their developing English proficiency.

Wayne Dickerson's paper is a report on the experimentation which he and a team of pronunciation teachers at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign have undertaken. They have developed an approach which combines rule learning and discrimination/articulation practice. This approach has been designed to help their students improve their pronunciation and, just as importantly, to provide them with the tools which will allow them to continue to monitor and correct their own production after the course has ended.

In the third paper, Kenneth Pakenham points out that both semantic and linguistic clues are required to enable readers to make sense of a text. With respect to the teaching of adult beginning ESL reading, he argues that present practice, which is heavily weighted toward a word-skills approach and which uses few, if any, semantic or syntactic clues, is unnecessarily restrictive. Pakenham proposes, rather, an approach which develops the ability to predict what will follow in a reading passage by using all available information.

The next paper, also concerned with second language reading, takes a second look at what the effect on students' performance is when they follow the often-given teacher advice—"If you don't know the word, guess!" Margot Haynes, using data from a recent study, provides some refinements regarding when such advice is appropriate and proposes additional strategies which may help students guess more correctly.

Regarding the teaching of writing, David Harris shares his recent experiments in analyzing organizational patterns of adult ESL student narratives. He provides support for the use of short, silent films with a story line as a starting point for teaching beginning ESL writers how to organize a written narrative and, in the process, how to apply the more general rhetorical principles of unity, coherence, and emphasis.

The "limitations" referred to in Sandra McKay's article reminds us that not all aspects of the teaching of writing are best viewed in terms of formal, in-class training; indeed, some elements are more appropriately seen as factors of general knowledge or of experience gained *outside* the classroom. Being aware of such a distinction, however, allows teachers to focus on what it is that the classroom can do best to develop students' skills in composition.

Vivian Zamel, working from an analysis of *process* rather than *product*, questions a number of current practices in the teaching of writing to ESL students. She offers alternative activities which are designed to develop students' abilities to produce acceptable and original prose.

Harry Krasnick considers the task of how to help students acquire cultural compecompetence in addition to linguistic competence. He points to some inadequacies in many past and some present approaches to the teaching of culture and suggests a systematic introduction of the basic values and norms of the target culture, together with practice in applying such knowledge in everyday situations of intercultural contact.

The final two papers in this section both provide frameworks for examining what happens in classrooms and for comparing these findings with patterns of natural language use outside of class.

Patrick Buckheister and John Fanselow focus quite specifically on ways of narrowing response possibilities. Although they warn that "teacher *shoulds* are difficult to discover," their analysis of solicits gathered in thirty-five varied classrooms nevertheless provides encouragement to teachers to pay more attention to narrowing characteristics and to experiment with different kinds of narrowing in order to see which have the most effect on student comprehension.

The paper by Patrick Allen, Maria Fröhlich, and Nina Spada provides a comprehensive observation scheme that is designed to capture the details of the kinds of activities which go on in classrooms and the communicative features which occur within each. This tool, which is still being tested, is intended for use in classroom-centered research to measure differences in communicative orientation among classes. The categories used to describe both the activities and the communicative features provide a detailed breakdown of the possible constituents in an activity-based/interactive classroom.

A Transfer Curriculum For Teaching Content-Based ESL in the Elementary School

Anna Uhl Chamot

INTRODUCTION

Structured immersion has recently been proposed as an alternative to bilingual education and ESL programs. What is it? Opinions vary, but generally, structured immersion is assumed to be a type of second language immersion program on the Canadian model. In their critical review of bilingual education, Baker and de Kanter (1981) define structured immersion as a program in which the second language and content subjects are taught simultaneously from the very beginning level of exposure to the new language. Exactly how this is to be accomplished is not precisely defined, and both ESL and classroom subject teachers may find it somewhat puzzling to figure out how to teach in English to a totally non-English speaking child the life cycle of a butterfly or a math story problem about how much money Linda needs if she wants to play thirty video games at a quarter each.

Most teachers who have worked with limited English proficient (LEP) children would probably agree that some basic proficiency in English needs to be established before children can profit from even simplified subject matter instruction in English.

Mohan (1979) has provided a useful framework for classifying various types of content-centered second language teaching. First, he identifies second language teaching through content instruction alone, exemplified by the Canadian French immersion model, which he questions as a solution for immigrant children, particularly those past the first or second grade level. The second model he describes is dual teaching, or second language instruction combined with content teaching, in which communicative activities are based on subject matter content and linguistically simplified instructional materials and supplementary language exploitation ex-

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ercises are utilized. The third model described by Mohan is language teaching aimed for later content teaching, or teaching a second language for specialized purposes. The second and third models, dual teaching and English for specific purposes, can be usefully applied at the elementary school level to assist the LEP child in the transition to the all-English curriculum.

A transfer curriculum which incorporates features of Mohan's second and third models would encompass both teaching of English and content area instruction simultaneously, and teaching of English for specific purposes, which in the context of elementary school education means teaching English for classroom purposes.

This paper proposes a transfer curriculum designed to provide a bridge between the bilingual and/or ESL program and the mainstream classroom by preparing LEP children to transfer concepts they have already acquired in their L1 to their L2. Rather than use the term *structured immersion* or even the European term *language shelter class*, both of which may have pejorative connotations, the simple descriptive term *transfer instruction* is proposed.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Before describing the particulars of transfer instruction, a brief review of the theoretical background underlying the concept of transfer of cognitive knowledge from a first language to a second language may be useful.

The research of Cummins (1979; 1982a) identifies a single underlying language proficiency in bilingual persons. Bilinguals, in his view, do not have a separate store of concepts in each of their languages, but rather a single store of knowledge which can be expressed in either language. According to this interdependence hypothesis, what is learned in the way of concepts is learned once only, and thereafter transferred to the second language whenever adequate proficiency in it has been acquired. Beginning bilinguals have not yet acquired sufficient proficiency in the second language to make such transfer practical, and so for them the most efficient way to acquire knowledge is through the medium of the first language. Concurrently, they need to be acquiring the basic structures, lexicon, and communicative functions of the second language so that eventually they will be able to transfer previously acquired knowledge to the new language.

The duration of this process of initial second language acquisition that is prerequisite to the ability to begin learning through the medium of the second language is the subject of debate not only in the United States but also in other countries with bilingual populations. Research in Canada (Cummins, 1982b) indicates that the process is much longer than many educators would like to assume: about two years for most children to develop social conversational fluency in the second language, and from five to seven years for them to develop the academic language skills that they need in order to succeed in content area subjects. In fact, this may be a conservative estimate. In a current study, Fillmore (1982a) has found that up to 25% of LEP children have acquired very little English after three years of exposure to various types of English instruction in school, and are in need of a significantly longer period of special instruction to prepare them to function effectively in the all-English classroom.

The two types of language proficiency described by Cummins (1982b) as embedded, face-to-face proficiency versus context-reduced academic proficiency and the fact that the second type takes longer to develop have been used by bilingual educators as a reason to prolong language support services for LEP children, but others have rejected the Cummins analysis and termed it a language deficit model (Edelsky et al., 1983). An empirical investigation of the issue has been undertaken by Fillmore (1982b) in a longitudinal study which has analyzed both the oral and the written language of elementary classrooms to determine what differences exist, in fact, between the language of the classroom and that of social interaction. The findings are of critical importance to those concerned with the education of LEP children. First, there are indeed differences in the type of language used for social purposes and the sort of language required for academic study. Second, both kinds are needed in the elementary school classroom if children are to participate and interact effectively in a learning environment.

How do children acquire both kinds of language proficiency? Krashen (1980) has reduced this problem to an attractive and simple directive: learners will acquire the second language if only they can receive comprehensible input in it. Presumably, this comprehensible input needs to be available both for social interactive and cognitive academic language skills.

The problem of the teacher then becomes how to provide comprehensible input in ESL and in content area subjects for the LEP child. Following are some practical suggestions on how a teacher might go about this task.

CURRICULUM GUIDELINES

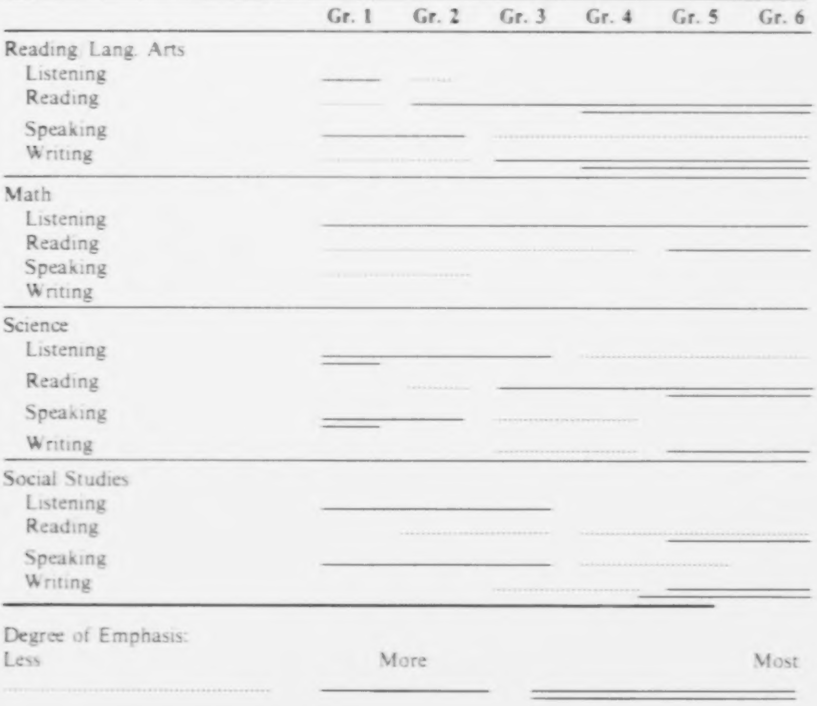
The ESL curriculum needs to be carefully planned so that children learn the functional English that will provide them with needed tools in learning academic language. At the beginning stages of English acquisition, children need to have learned or be learning basic content concepts in the first language so that they will eventually have a body of knowledge to transfer to English.

Then, children need to acquire the specific language functions that they will need in order to participate successfully in the all-English classroom. These are tied directly to the requirements of each subject area (Chamot, 1983b). For instance, in math, children need to be able to use the language functions required for receiving factual information from the teacher's explanations, for comprehending the language of story problems, and for writing numerically. Most speaking functions in the math class involve requesting clarification, expressing comprehension, and explaining a process. Contrast this with the language functions required for successful participation in the all-English language arts class in the elementary grades. Here children must not only be able to use all four language skills in an academically effective manner, but they must also develop a metalinguistic awareness as they begin to deal with such language content as grammar, rhetoric, and style. It is no wonder that LEP children find they can cope with math in English long before they can do so beyond the mechanical level with any of the language arts.

All of these factors need to be taken into account in planning an ESL curriculum. Teaching children to understand and speak in a socially communicative fashion and then to decode a little and complete fill-in-the-blank exercises is not enough preparation for using English as a tool for learning subject matter. Children need to acquire experience and expertise in the functional use of language in all areas of the curriculum.

Table 1 (adapted from Chamot, 1983b) is a sample representation of the language skills often emphasized in the different content areas in a typical

Table 1: English Language Skills in Content Areas



elementary school curriculum. The relative amount of instructional time devoted to each of the four language skills in each of the major subject areas is indicated by a blank space for virtually none, a dotted line for more, and a double solid line for the most. Academic oral skills, particularly speaking, tend to be emphasized less and less as children move up through the grades. Formal development of listening comprehension has a place in many first grade language arts curricula, but after that the assumption seems to be that children can listen well enough to understand the teacher's explanations and instructions in all curricular areas. This is frequently a false assumption as far as the LEP child is concerned.

The increasing emphasis on literacy skills in the middle and upper grades as a means of acquiring and expressing knowledge means that LEP children need to develop substantial proficiency in reading and writing not only for their language related subjects, but also for subject areas such as social studies, science, and to a certain extent, math.

Does the ESL teacher then have to teach content subjects? As much as possible, yes. At a minimum, the ESL teacher should be familiar with the all-English curriculum corresponding to the grade level of the students, and teach the language functions in English that the curriculum demands. Once children have achieved a basic proficiency in English, they can begin to learn some content in some subjects to some degree through the medium of English. How can the ESL specialist be expected to teach content? At any level, through close collaboration with content area teachers. Elementary school ESL teachers have the advantage of less daunting content in the two subjects that many language teachers tend to view with trepidation—math and science.

TRANSFER INSTRUCTION CURRICULUM MODEL

A special curriculum needs to be provided that will develop children's subject matter knowledge through linguistically simplified instructional materials and second language teaching methodology. Perhaps there are children who do not need such a bridging curriculum, and can easily transfer the concepts learned in their first language to English just as soon as they learn the new verbal labels. It may be, though, that many children are in urgent need of specific help to make such a transfer effectively.

A two-tier approach to language support services could help LEP children make the final transition into all-English medium instruction (Chamot, 1983a). The first tier focuses on content instruction in the first language that is correlated with the curriculum of the English-only classroom and ESL instruction that develops the classroom language functions that will be needed after mainstreaming (see Fillmore, 1982b; Chamot, 1983b).

Transfer instruction, the second tier of the model, would provide systematic instruction and practice in transferring L1 concepts and skills to English for LEP children who have developed some basic proficiency in English and a store of appropriate concepts in their first language. In less linguistically demanding subjects, transfer instruction could begin much sooner than in the more linguistically complex areas.

Table 2 outlines a model (based on Chamot, 1983a) for such a two-tier curriculum, that provides special support during particular time periods for the transfer of L1 concepts to English. The year of participation in the program is listed across the top. For entering first graders, year 1 would correspond to first grade, but for the older child, year 1 would correspond to the grade level in the home language. Because in the United States most bilingual programs end after three years (and

Table 2: Transfer Instruction Curriculum Model

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4	Year 5	Year 6
Reading and Language Arts	L1 Support —	—	—|			
	ESL Instruction —	—	—	—	—|	
		Transfer Instruction —	—	—	—|	L2 Only
Math	L1 Support —	—|				
	Trans. Instr. —	—|	L2 Only —	—	—	—→
Science	L1 Support —	—|				
		Trans. Instr. —	—|	L2 Only —	—	—→
Social Studies	L1 Support —	—	—|			
		Trans Instr. —	—	—|	L2 Only —	—→
Art, Music, Phys. Ed.	L1 —|					
	Trans. —|	L2 Only —	—	—	—	—→

many even sooner), the model indicates that year 3 signals the last year of L1 support. Obviously, this configuration would vary depending on local programs.

Oral English, grammar, reading, literature, spelling, handwriting, and composition are included under the category Reading/Language Arts. A long period of both ESL and transfer instruction is probably necessary in these areas in which language is the actual content, as well as the medium of instruction, for each subject.

In math, on the other hand, a shorter period of transfer instruction is indicated because less verbal language is involved. But in science a longer period of transfer instruction would probably be necessary because of the reading comprehension requirements of elementary science textbooks. An even longer period of transfer instruction for social studies can be expected. The middle grades social studies curriculum requires a high level of literacy, as children must acquire information through reading, and develop study skills such as research and report writing. In addition, the values system implicit in the second culture will most likely be reflected in the social studies instructional materials, and may require additional explanation and description for the minority culture child.

Transfer instruction is needed for a relatively short period of time in the highly contextualized curriculum areas of art, music, and physical education.

What should the language of instruction be during transfer instruction? The advice of Baker and de Kanter (1981) may be helpful: instruction should be in English by a teacher who understands the children's first language, and children should not be prohibited from using the first language in classroom interaction. An extension of this proposal is that children should be allowed to express their comprehension of material presented in English through the medium of their first language. Children's reading comprehension, for instance, is likely, in the middle and upper grades, to be in advance of their productive ability to answer questions orally or in writing; a true measure of their actual comprehension may be available only by tapping their productive abilities in their first language.

SOME APPLICATIONS OF TRANSFER INSTRUCTION

By the middle grades, LEP children need to be able to use their English language proficiency in context-reduced tasks in which they must acquire information in the content areas through listening and reading comprehension. Teachers can help by teaching study skills and learning strategies for listening and reading, and by simplifying instructional materials so that their content is accessible to LEP children. Following are some specific suggestions for teachers.

Teach children how to deal with unknown words in a text by adopting a conscious strategy. For instance, if the word is not essential to understanding the meaning of the paragraph or sentence, it can safely be ignored. If a partial or general meaning can be gleaned from the context and suffices to comprehend the information being transmitted, guessing at the meaning of the new word by using context clues is a useful strategy. If, on the other hand, the meaning of the new word is absolutely essential to understanding the point of the passage, then recourse to a dictionary is advisable. Children need to be given practice in making decisions about which strategies to use. Cloze exercises have been found useful in teaching students how to deal with unfamiliar materials they are reading (Honeyfield, 1977).

Teach prediction skills by omitting the end of a story and asking children to tell or write the probable ending, or by using a modified cloze procedure with an expository passage in which a whole sentence is omitted and children have to guess the type of information it contains.

Use advance organizers to help students relate what they already know to the new material they will listen to or read. A preview of the content to be learned can focus attention and prepare students for the details to follow. Questions provided before listening or reading help students identify important information when it is presented. Essential new vocabulary can be taught before it is encountered in an oral or written text. In order to make learning more effective, vocabulary should be presented in semantic categories that help set up conceptual frameworks of the material to be studied (Dupuis and Snyder, 1983). Discussion of background concepts already known by students can help set the stage for learning new related information (Wilson, 1983).

Use visual aids and non-verbal communication to aid comprehension of concepts, and be willing to accept non-verbal responses that indicate children have comprehended the information presented. For example, they can make sketches, diagrams, charts, maps, timelines, equations, flow charts, and tables to show that they have understood the material (Mohan, 1979).

Write outlines, major points, and vocabulary on the board so that students can refer to them as they listen to the presentation of a lesson or read a chapter. Difficult-to-understand key sentences can be re-written on the board with each phrase or major concept in the sentence written on a separate line; this allows students to process the information one thought at a time, rather than trying to take in a complicated sentence all at once (Sutman, Allen, and Shoemaker, 1982).

Teach self-diagnosis of comprehension difficulties by having children ask themselves what it is they do not understand: a single word, a sentence, or the main idea of a paragraph (Wilson, 1983). Too often children give up in frustration at the first comprehension difficulty, rather than evaluate the degree of difficulty and initiate a strategy to overcome it.

Allow for cooperative learning strategies, such as having a group of students pool information they have acquired through listening, or answer reading comprehension questions after discussing in small groups the material read individually. When a cooperative learning atmosphere has been established, children can feel free to correct and help each other, rather than compete with each other.

Notetaking skills need to be taught in the upper elementary school, as they will become increasingly necessary in high school where so much information is transmitted through lectures and lengthy reading assignments. Notes should be written in the student's own words (even if spelling and grammar are less than perfect) rather than verbatim. When students reformulate the information in their own words, they demonstrate their understanding of the concept communicated. Performance objectives should to be explained to students before they begin taking notes on oral or written material, for they need to know in advance if they will be required to recall only the main idea or a series of important facts. Students can be provided with an outline with main headings or, depending on the type of information to be acquired, a matrix with empty cells to be filled in as they listen or read. Some types of information can be best recalled if notes are taken as a visual representation such as a flow chart, sketch, or diagram.

Study skills and learning strategies operate on instructional materials, whether oral or written, that are presented to students. For the LEP student, such materials should present the same content as those for the all-English curriculum, but they should be linguistically simplified to make them more easily accessible. Unfortunately, the language of elementary school textbooks can be unnecessarily complex linguistically, causing serious comprehension difficulties for LEP children.

Traditionally, simplification of text has been accomplished by reducing the vocabulary load and limiting the complexity of grammatical structures. This approach may be too simplistic, however. Honeyfield (1977) criticizes such traditional text simplification because it often affects communication adversely by reducing the number of information-bearing words and eliminating the cohesion and readability provided by the original syntax and communicative structure. He suggests that simplification should be addressed directly to the content, rather than the linguistic form. That is, the content of a reading passage should be rewritten as a whole, not sentence by sentence, in order to provide comprehensible input for the LEP student. What this implies for content relating to social studies, for instance, is that an outline of major concepts and supporting examples or explanations needs to be developed first, and then the written explanation of these main points needs to be prepared in a simple English of high-frequency words and straightforwardly structured sentences. Elaborations involving multiply embedded sentences, passive constructions, and unknown vocabulary should be avoided wherever possible.

Of course it is asking a lot of teachers to go through textbooks for each subject and simplify them for transfer instruction to LEP children. What is needed is a publisher willing to produce instructional materials containing the essential content of different subject areas rewritten so as to provide comprehensible input for limited English proficient students.

CONCLUSION

This paper has dealt with various aspects of the practical application to the ESL elementary school curriculum of structured immersion, which, it is proposed, should more accurately be termed transfer instruction. Transfer instruction is seen as a bridge between bilingual education or ESL programs and the mainstream all-English curriculum. In transfer instruction children would be helped to transfer the concepts they have already learned in their first language to English, they would receive new content instruction linked with English language development activities, and they would establish effective study skills and learning strategies to aid their listening and reading comprehension.

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The Role of Formal Rules in Pronunciation Instruction[1]

Wayne B. Dickerson

INTRODUCTION

In simple terms, we can describe the phonological system of English as consisting of elements and rules. The elements are the vowel and consonant sounds, the stress and pitch levels. The rules tell how the elements are organized in words, phrases and sentences. Whether they are native or nonnative users of English, all speakers must control both aspects of the phonological system reasonably well to communicate orally. For this reason, the goal of ESL pronunciation classes should be to help learners master English phonology—its elements and its rules.

This goal contrasts with reality. When we visit pronunciation classes, we typically find them rich in the elements of the system but poor in the rules of the system. That is, students learn a lot about how to articulate and discriminate vowels, consonants, stresses and intonations. But they do not learn much about when to use these elements in words, phrases and sentences. Learners are often left asking questions like these: I can make a primary stress, but where in a phrase does the primary stress go? I can produce a rising intonation, but when is a rising intonation the one to use? I can pronounce long, short and reduced vowels, but which vowels in a word are long, short and reduced? The answers to these questions are the rules of the phonology, most of which never reach the student.

The lopsided character of most pronunciation classes, with their near-total emphasis on phonological elements and their near-total neglect of phonological rules, made us wonder how we could bring the two types of content into proper balance. We grant the importance of oral-aural work on the elements. We must continue to help our students improve their speaking and listening accuracy. But we also recognize the equal importance of the organizing rules. So, somehow we should

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[1] The generous editorial help of Lonna Dickerson is acknowledged with appreciation.

help our students master the rules that govern the elements they are learning to say and hear.

One approach to rule-learning is direct. We can state the approach in the analytical terms of current research. Since the phonological system of the target language consists of rules, and the phonological system of the learner's interlanguage consists of rules that are evolving in the direction of the target language, why not try to influence the evolution of the interlanguage phonology by giving learners explicit rules from the target language phonology? However, it was not this theoretical question as much as practical considerations that originally encouraged us to explore seriously the direct approach to rule learning. At this point, let us review some of these considerations. Later, we will return to a discussion of theoretical matters.

Some of the motivations underlying our work are relevant to many different language learning situations; other motivations are perhaps more unique to a university setting.

First, errors of prediction. Placement test results assign students to our pronunciation course because of serious errors in pronunciation. But when we examined the test results more closely, we found that a large portion of the errors arose, not because the learners did not know how to articulate sounds, but because they did not use their articulations properly in words. For example, we would hear students pronounce correctly the vowel sound in monosyllabic words like *clay*, *snake*, but mispronounce the same vowel in polysyllabic words like *flagrant*, *radial*. Their pronunciation error was not an articulation error but a prediction error; they simply did not know that *flagrant* and *radial* require the same vowel as in *clay*. It seemed that one solution to this problem would be to teach students the rules that predict vowel sounds in polysyllabic words.

Second, the limits of exposure. Our university ESL classes are full of students who have had years of contact with English. Ten to fifteen years of study is not uncommon. Despite their extensive exposure to English, they have not assimilated a sufficiently good *feel* for English phonological patterns to extend their skill into new domains. For example, they may know that *cute* and *fewest* have a /y/ between the first consonant and the first vowel, but they have not picked up the simple cues that would enable them to pronounce *putrid* and *puniest* with /y/. More exposure seemed unlikely to improve their abilities. However, if they were given a few strategic guidelines, it might solve their problem, not only for these words but for the rest of the English lexicon requiring the unwritten /y/.

Third, a substitute for intuition. Based on placement test scores, students at our university are required to take only one remedial pronunciation course—three hours per week for fifteen weeks. In this length of time, we can help most students with most of their articulation problems. But in so short a time, we cannot instill in them a sensitive intuition about English sound patterns. Without some guidance, they still would not know when to use their newly improved articulations. They would still not know how to help themselves tackle the pronunciation of vocabulary that was new to them. It seemed that they needed a handy substitute for the guidance of a well-formed intuition, a substitute that would enable them to make native-like decisions while their interlanguage intuition developed at its own pace. In one semester, we could give them most of the major rules they would need for word and phrase stress, for intonation patterns and for vowel and consonant choice.

Fourth, the demand of their fields. At our university, as at other educational and research institutions, students face a constant bombardment of new vocabulary from their respective fields of specialization. Furthermore, they are frequently put in a position of needing to manage that vocabulary in oral performance for class presentations, for asking and responding to questions, for teaching classes, for discussing in seminars, for talking with fellow students and with teachers, and later for presenting conference papers and interacting with English-speaking colleagues. The general learner-vocabulary of ESL classes does not meet their specific needs. However, it seemed to us that learners could meet their own demands for oral English if they had a personal resource to fall back on, namely, rules to guide their use of sounds, rhythm and melody.

Fifth, the background of learners. We deal with well-educated adult language learners, many of them in the sciences and many accustomed to learning and applying rules in their own fields. For these students, there is nothing novel in the notion that language rules can be used to make pronunciation predictions. This student population, then, has the ideal academic background and experience for explicit rule-use. These factors favored the direct use of language rules in pronunciation class.

Finally, the nature of remedial classes. Students come to our pronunciation class, not as novices in the language, but as long-time learners with specific problems. Unlike students new to English for whom large portions of English phonology must be covered, students in our classes usually have fewer than a dozen major weak areas. In these circumstances, we have the time to commit as much as fifty percent of our class hour to rule-learning and rule-using work.

For these various practical reasons, then, we felt it was worth the risk to redesign our oral-aural pronunciation classes to accommodate a rule component. Now, one-half of our in-class time is devoted to articulation and discrimination work—the traditional emphasis (Robinett 1978:64–109). The other half is spent using rule-generated predictions as a way to correct pronunciation. That is, students learn to predict the consonants, vowels and stress of words, the rhythm of phrases and the intonation patterns of sentences, and to put these predictions to work in self-monitoring—a somewhat nontraditional emphasis (Dickerson 1975).

This paper reports on what we have learned after five years of research, writing and testing in the area of using formal rules in pronunciation teaching and learning. The report begins with an orientation to our instruction by answering two questions: What do our materials look like in general? What do pronunciation rules look like in particular? Next, we consider the process by which formal rules make an impact on speech. In this section, we define carefully what we want students ultimately to learn from the rules they study. In the following section, we turn to the problem of what we can do to promote the learning we want. We identify the role of classroom instruction and discuss specific teaching techniques that help students learn. Finally, we return to the theoretical issue raised earlier. Specifically, we consider the experiences reported here in the light of the Monitor Model of language learning (Krashen 1981).

TEACHING RULES: LESSON FORMAT AND CONTENT

Our oral-aural work in class is like that found in most pronunciation classes. We deal with the vowel and consonant articulations needed by members of a particular class. Our exercises, however, move quickly to meaningful communication thereby allowing us to integrate rhythm and intonation practice into every vowel and consonant lesson (Dickerson and Dickerson, a and b).

Our rule-oriented work, however, is not typical of pronunciation instruction.

For instance, our textbooks on word-level rules contain lessons each of which has four parts, as depicted in (1) (Dickerson, forthcoming b). During class, the teacher tells the students generally what the new lesson will be about. This is a five-minute Preview—Part 1. Students are then assigned a Discovery Homework—Part 2. This is a set of pencil-and-paper exercises they do at home to learn and to practice using the rules with a given set of words. When they return to class, they do the Oral Work—Part 3. This part of the lesson gives students oral practice with the words they have been studying and also integrates the words into utterances where rhythm and intonation come into play. Finally, they do a brief Review at home—Part 4—to recapitulate the principal points of the lesson.

(1)	Part 1 Preview	Part 2 Discovery Homework	Part 3 Oral Work	Part 4 Review
	In Class	Out of Class	In Class	Out of Class

A typical four-part lesson presents rules and practice materials focused on a particular set of words, such as *-ous* adjectives, *-ize* verbs or *-er* nouns. We can illustrate some of the rules by looking at the lesson that deals with final *-y* nouns, such as those in (2).[2] This lesson appears late in the semester.

(2) melody majesty apology stupidity

The rules that apply to the final *-y* noun set predict stress and vowels. In general, our ESL stress rules assign stress to words with reference to a syllable we call the Key Syllable. For the *-y* noun class, the learner finds the Key immediately left of the *-y*, as underlined in the examples of (2). The syllable left of the Key is referred to as the Left Syllable. It is identified with a wavy line. The rule states simply that for this class of words, the primary stress falls on the Left Syllable, e.g. *mélody*, *májesty*, etc. For learners, this rule is new information.

To make vowel predictions, learners use three pieces of old information encountered in earlier lessons. The first is that if the stressed Left Syllable is spelled with a single vowel letter followed by a single consonant letter—VC, the vowel will be short (Dickerson 1980). Note the Short E in *mélody*, the Short A in *májesty*, etc. Second, if the Key does not carry the primary stress, it is unstressed and pronounced with a reduced vowel, /ə/. Finally, the learner knows that a final unstressed *-y* is pronounced as Long E /ē/.[3] These stress and vowel prediction rules are summarized in (3).

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[2] Excluded from the final *-y* noun set are nouns ending in *-acy*, *-ancy*, *-ency*, *-ary*, *-ery*, *-ory*, each of which represents a different set of words.

[3] Kenyon and Knott (1955) note that the sound of the final, unstressed *-y* varies from /i/ (*bit*) to /ē/ (*bee*) in American English (xvii). The /ē/ variant is commonest in the North and East (481). We have chosen to use the /ē/ variant here because it is the form used in the rules and derivations of Chomsky and Halle (1968:74). However, the /i/ pronunciation of *-y* is widely used in educated English and must be accepted as correct in the learner's speech (Dickerson 1977).

(3) Rules for final -*y* nouns with Left Syllables
Stress: Stress the Left Syllable.
Vowels: a. A stressed VC in the Left Syllable is short.
b. An unstressed Key vowel is reduced.
c. A final unstressed -*y* is Long E.

After learners have done rule-prompted pronunciation work, do they speak more accurately? The answer is, Yes. When we measure student performance with a pretest and a posttest three months apart, we find that the spontaneous speech of these students has improved in accuracy in those areas where we have provided rule-oriented instruction. Not only have we seen marked improvement, but we have also been able to determine the kind of rule use that produces the greatest improvement. In a recent study investigating the effectiveness of rules used before and after speaking (Dickerson, forthcoming a), we pretested four groups of students, each group representing a different language background. The test covered all of the word-level prediction topics—word stress, vowels, consonants—to be covered during our semester-long pronunciation course. The posttest showed not only that the performance of each group improved after one semester of prediction work. But it also showed that each group improved significantly more when the subjects used their rules to correct just-initiated speech (speech → sound prediction → speech) than when they used their rules to initiate speech (sound prediction → speech).

LEARNING RULES: WHAT IS LEARNED AND HOW

These positive results have led us to ask a deeper question. Assuming that formal rules have something to do with the learner's progress, by what route do formal rules come to influence speech production?

Contrary to expectation, we have come to the conclusion that formally learned rules have little to do directly with spontaneous speech production. The salient word here is *directly*. We do, however, believe that there is a connection between formal pronunciation rules and speaking accuracy. The nature of this link has become clearer to us as we have tried different tactics semester after semester to get students to make more of their rule learning.

To identify the connection between a rule written on paper and a tacit rule capable of guiding the form of unpremeditated speech, we can trace the learner's movement through a series of stages which we believe are involved. These stages are represented in (4).

(4)	Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Paper Rule →	Rule Learning →	Predicting with Learned Rules →	Producing with Learned Rules →	Producing with Acquired Rules

To illustrate these stages, we will continue to use word-level rules. However, the stages could be illustrated just as well with phrase-rhythm rules or with intonation rules.

A simply stated rule on paper can be learned verbatim. For example, a stressed VC in the Left Syllable predicts a short vowel. In itself, this first stage—Rule Learning—is unimportant. But as a step in the larger process, this stage is essential.

With a rule in the head, the learner is no longer dependent on having the rule in hand.

Rules in the head seem to be retained longer when they are used again and again on actual words to make predictions. This is Stage 2. For example, having placed stress on the Left Syllable of *týranny* and *insánity*, learners use the VC rule (3.a. above) to determine that a Short I is required in *týranny*, despite the familiar word *tyrant*, and that a Short A is required in *insánity*, despite the familiar word *insane*.

The predictions made in Stage 2 can be done on paper and need not involve the mouth at all. For this reason, Stage 2 is also relatively meaningless as an end in itself. Unfortunately, some students get such a sense of accomplishment from assigning stress properly to novel words and predicting their vowel and consonant sounds that we must actively encourage learners to move beyond this stage. The test results of those who resist moving beyond Stage 2 are quite revealing. These students may make perfect scores on written tests, but on oral tests, their speech show few effects of their learning.

Stage 3 is different. In it, learners actually produce or articulate words according to the predictions they have generated by rule in Stage 2. Out of Stage 2 comes a set of guidelines for speech—specific predictions concerning how a word should sound. This is a model. It is not a model of articulation, because in Stage 2 nothing is spoken. But it does identify the correct sounds to be made and their sequence in a word. The model says that *tyranny* requires a stressed Short I, a Schwa and a Long E. If learners know how to make a Short I, a Schwa and a Long E as a result of their oral/aural practice, they should be able, in Stage 3, to follow the model to pronounce *tyranny* properly.

Every student we have had has been able to modify his or her speech to match a predicted model. For many, this self-initiated pronunciation improvement is the source of considerable satisfaction. They sense the independence the rules give them. However, this stage is not the end of the road. This is not Stage 4 where rules guide fluent speaking with ease.

To understand this last step, let us retrace the process and consider the kind of effort the learner contributes in order to pass from one stage to the next.

To get from a rule on paper to Stage 1—a rule in the head, the process entails *memorization*. The learner must put forth the effort to learn a formal statement. From Stage 1 to Stage 2, the process involves *application*. The learner must make the effort to use the rule to generate specific predictions for specific words. From Stage 2 to Stage 3, the transition requires *production*. The learner must go to the effort to articulate a word according to the predictions made. Unlike the preceding steps, speech output is being affected. However, although the rules affect premeditated speech, they do not control the learner's spontaneous speech. For that, the learner must move from Stage 3 to Stage 4, from explicit rule to tacit rule. To make this transition, what effort must the learner put forth? Our hypothesis is that the learner must engage in a process of *familiarization* with the pattern of English sounds.

This final step requires elaboration. Let us address two questions: What is a pattern of sounds? What is involved in familiarization?

A pattern of sounds for a word set is a particular arrangement or organization of stresses and sounds or sound categories. Each word set in the language has one or more characterizing sound patterns. For the set of final *-y* nouns, the principal pattern is given in (5).[4]

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[4] Another pattern is ū́···ə···ē, because of the rule which states that a stressed uC in the Left Syllable predicts a Long U, e.g. *mútiny*, *scrútiny*.

(5) $\acute{V}_{s} \cdots \text{ə} \cdots \bar{e}$

The pattern in (5) is a stress-vowel skeleton. It is a composite of the outputs of the four rules in (3)—a stressed Left Syllable, a short (V_s) Left vowel, a reduced Key vowel and a Long E terminal. The words of the final *-y* set conform to this skeleton. Their specific consonants and stressed vowels give it flesh. But no matter how a particular word dresses the skeleton, the underlying structure is never hidden as illustrated in (6), where the first vowel of the skeleton is made specific.

(6)	á···ə···ē	é···ə···ē	ó···ə···ē	í···ə···ē
	family	melody	comedy	ministry
	galaxy	remedy	policy	litany
	agony	felony	botany	trilogy
	cavalry	enemy	colony	mimicry

So, this is what we want learners to become familiar with: the pattern of sounds that describes a word set. In the end, it is not the rules per se that we want learners to use in speech but the pattern of sounds that the rules make. The stress-vowel skeleton is much more important than individual rules because, as a whole, it is a miniature version of the larger alternation of stress and vowel quality found in phrases. The skeleton captures not only changes in beat and tempo but also the concomitant changes in full and reduced vowels. So, when learners say words from this class, we want them to say the words, not as a sequence of discrete vowel and consonant segments—*fa·mi·ly*—but as a unit with its own cadence, a unit that can easily fit into and participate in the larger rhythm of the utterance, so crucial for comprehension.

When we say that learners must become familiar with the pattern, we mean that they must get used to hearing and saying the pattern in the words of the word set. We want them to become so accustomed to the sound of the pattern that when they see unfamiliar words, perhaps like those in (7), only the right pattern seems right when they say the words.

(7) syzygy heronry digamy

This growing familiarity is the development of what we refer to as a *feel* for the language or an intuition about what sounds right in English. It is what native speakers and some second-language learners acquire without any explicit learning of rules. When this familiarity progresses to the point that learners can base fast, subconscious judgments of correctness on it, we say that they have entered Stage 4.

We have said that learners get from Stage 3 to Stage 4 by becoming familiar with sound patterns, such as the one in (5). This hypothesis, however, leaves unanswered a number of important questions which deserve careful consideration. For example, what does the learner have to do to develop the necessary familiarity? Where do formal rules fit into the picture?

Our experience with learners seems to bear out our belief that the more the learner says aloud the pattern of sounds in words while focusing deliberately on its components, the more familiar the pattern of sounds becomes. Constant and conscious exposure to the sounds of a pattern helps learners internalize the pattern more quickly than occasional and superficial exposure.

Of course, learners must say the patterns properly. Wrongly uttered patterns defeat the ultimate aim of practice. This is where formal rules come in. Rules allow the learner to generate the correct pattern for a word, if the pattern is unfamiliar. Piece by piece, the learner can assemble the components of the stress-vowel skeleton characteristic of a particular word group. Equally important, rules allow the learner to check the accuracy of a pattern just spoken in a word and alter it accordingly. That is, by using rules, the learner can examine the components of an attempted pronunciation to see whether its stress and sounds are right.

In short, our hypothesis about pattern acquisition is that the conscious use of predictions to guide production—Stage 3 activity—can lead ultimately to the subconscious use of predictions to guide production—Stage 4. Given enough prediction-to-production practice, learners can build up the required familiarity with patterns.

DEFINING THE TASK OF TEACHER AND LEARNER

If a quantity of rule-guided oral performance is necessary to familiarize the learner with English sound patterns, where does the classroom fit into the picture?

It has come as something of a shock to us pronunciation teachers to realize that we have little control over the important transition to Stage 4. Who determines whether or not a learner will ultimately make the transition? If tacit rules form, as shown by a demonstrated familiarity with sound patterns, it is mostly because of what the learner does—the amount of rule-guided production the learner chooses to do—not because of what we do directly. Where and when will the transition take place? The fact is, there is simply not enough time in class for students to do the amount of practice necessary to get them thoroughly acquainted with the sound patterns in all of the word groups we study. If the transition to Stage 4 takes place, it will likely happen outside of class on the student's own timetable.

Despite our inability to insure the outcome of our instruction, we should avoid two possible courses of action. On the one hand, we should not give up on pronunciation instruction with the hope that somehow, on their own, students will learn the phonological elements and the rules governing them. The students placed into our remedial pronunciation classes confirm that in most cases such learning is not likely to happen. On the other hand, we are convinced that we should not go back to teaching the elements—the sounds, stresses and intonation contours—without helping students gain a strong sense of how to use these elements in novel words, phrases and sentences.

The teacher's role in the rule-learning and rule-using part of the pronunciation course should, in our view, focus on the following. First, we can help our students understand what they must do to make real progress in English pronunciation. Second, we can help them use prediction as a guide for production and thereby improve their skill with the principal Stage 3 activity. Third, we can help them extend their Stage 3 skill beyond the classroom and beyond the semester. Each of these points can be further elaborated.

Understanding the prerequisites of progress. We cannot expect our students to understand what they must do in order to reach Stage 4 unless we tell them. In various ways, therefore, at the onset of the semester, we try to communicate what is involved in making long-term advances in pronunciation skill.

First, we acquaint students with the value of rules, mainly by using their own experiences. There are many situations where learned rules can help them. For instance, we ask: How many times have you mispronounced a word, not because you could not pronounce the right vowels and consonants, but because you did not know that the word required that particular vowel or that particular consonant? You didn't know which sound to use, so you made a mistake. Or we ask: What do you do when you encounter a word you don't know how to pronounce? Look it up in a dictionary? Ask a friend? Make the best guess you can? Try to avoid the word? We point out that if students knew the prediction rules in these situations, they could rescue themselves.

Second, we demonstrate the common student error of stopping at Stage 2, making predictions on paper. We have found it necessary to stress that the sole purpose of learning and using rules is to guide pronunciation. We say this as dramatically as we can, with analogies. For example, we bring to class a set of rules, such as the rules for solving Rubic's Cube or another puzzle. We demonstrate the rules quickly with a performance by solving the cube or puzzle. Then we give the rules and puzzle to a student to perform with. Of course, the student's progress is painfully slow and laborious. After a minute or so, we make our point. Without practice with the rules again and again, no skillful performance can result and the rules are useless. We throw the rule page in the trashbasket.

Similarly, the learner's vowel, consonant and stress rules exist to improve speech. But improved speech—skillful oral performance—is not possible without a lot of oral practice with the rules. Without that practice, the rules and their predictions are of no value. We say to learners: Don't waste your semester going only part way toward the goal by merely learning rules and making predictions. Go all the way, by using the rules to guide your choice of the sounds you speak.

Third, we identify our emphasis in grading tests. We want our students to know that we will grade them more heavily on oral tests than on written tests. This is, after all, a pronunciation class. Rules are important and so are predictions, but most important are their accurate productions based on predictions. We often tell our students: We are not so concerned with what you know as with what you can do with what you know. Can you make your mouth behave better because of knowing the rules?

Fourth, we describe why a lot of oral practice is necessary. We tell students that they already use pronunciation rules when they speak, subconscious rules they have built up from many sources. A serious problem is that some of the rules in their speech-control center are giving wrong results, leading to mispronunciations. To improve their speaking accuracy, they need to replace the poor rules with good rules like the ones we teach in our course.

But students also need to be aware that it is a hard job to put new rules into their speech-control center. The old rules are stubborn. Students have spent years using the old rules, depending on them for decisions when speaking. The only way we know for learners to push out inefficient rules and install better ones is to use the new rules as much as they can to shape what they say. This is why a lot of oral practice is needed.

Finally, and perhaps most important for students to understand, we emphasize that their progress is up to them. We cannot make them improve. Their speech accuracy will improve only if they make it happen.

In these different ways, then, we try to make the students aware of what is required in order to make permanent advances in pronunciation abilities. The second major contribution our instruction can make is to teach them how to use predictions to guide their production—Stage 3 activity.

Making predictions to guide production. First, we instruct students to practice aloud Discovery Homework predictions. In every pencil-and-paper exercise, where students place a stress mark or transcribe a predicted vowel or consonant, they see this instruction: *Read each word aloud.* It is so important that students take the time to pronounce words according to the model they have just generated that we emphasize this step from time to time during the semester.

Second, we lead learners to correct their own errors in the Oral Work. When a learner makes a mistake, the teacher never offers a correct rendition. Our procedure here is quite different from what we do in the articulatory/discrimination segment of the class. In the rule-oriented part, rather than correct, the teacher asks leading questions which help the learner identify the error and correct it without the teacher's model. For example, if a student reads, The desk is genuine mahogany (/mahōgā́nē/), the teacher will say, Let's look at the last word again. After writing the word on the board, the teacher asks, Where is the Key? The learner says, *an.* Where is the Left Syllable? The answer is, *og.* Where does the stress rule place the stress? On the Left Syllable. What is the quality of the Left vowel? Short O. The Key vowel? Schwa. Now, say the word again. The learner says the word properly and repeats the whole phrase.

From this procedure, learners not only discover the power of their rules to give them correct answers, but they also learn the set of relevant questions by which they can examine their own utterances for accuracy.

Third, we require students to use leading questions to monitor others. In three ways, learners use their rules to check the pronunciation of other class members. Least demanding is the general requirement that they listen as each student reads in class, check the pronunciation and be prepared to help the reader with answers to leading questions, if the reader gets stuck. More demanding are competitions. Subgroups in class earn points according to the accuracy of their reading after group members have evaluated it and suggested corrections. This activity raises the stakes on good monitoring. Most challenging of all, students are occasionally given the opportunity to take the role of the teacher. When one student reads the Oral Work, the student in the teacher's role must identify any errors and pose leading questions to guide the reader to correct his or her mistakes.

Finally, we send students to search their own reading materials for words from the target word set. They are asked to bring to class ten words that are unique to their own fields but which belong to the word class under study. We collect these words and use them in our review sessions before tests. Students find this exercise extremely interesting. More importantly, they begin to look at their reading materials in a new light, as an opportunity to practice making and using predictions.

In these different ways we are helping learners build Stage 3 skill. We are developing in them the strategy of asking leading questions in order to check and correct the oral accuracy of a pattern. All of these efforts are preparing the learner for the most formative activity of all, that of using Stage 3 skill on their own. The third contribution we can make to students is to help them carry their skills into their private lives where the transition to Stage 4 happens.

Promoting covert rehearsal. First, we make students aware of the potential of *covert rehearsal.* Covert rehearsal is the time we spend by ourselves preparing the content and form of utterances for future use. We think specifically about what we will say in this situation or that, to this person or that, on this topic or that. It is also a time for listening to oneself, for judging accuracy and fluency, for repeating, adjusting and trying again to make things sound better. Covert rehearsal may be a universal strategy of language learners and, for that matter, of native speakers of a language. We have yet to find a learner who does not preplan utterances in private, who does not devise questions to ask or answers to give, who does not invent conversations and participate in them. All of our students admit that they self-monitor and self-correct to improve the sound of their speech.

The reason for shining the spotlight on covert rehearsal is this: Covert rehearsal and formal rules are made for each other. Formal rules have little place in active conversation. Conscious rule-use requires too much attention and takes too much time. In conversation, attention must be given to the message. And because the message moves on quickly, there is no time for analysis. But in covert rehearsal, there is time for the primary function of formal rules, namely, to help learners evaluate and improve spoken patterns. Is the stress of this word right? Let's check it against the rule. Are the vowel qualities correct? What do the rules say? By self-monitoring and oral self-correcting, learners increase their familiarity with English patterns of sound. The more learners use rules in covert rehearsal to guide their oral practice, the closer they will get to Stage 4.

Second, we must assure students that talking aloud to oneself is not only all right, it is also necessary. The ultimate pronunciation goal we have for our students is that they develop a deep familiarity with the sound of pronunciation patterns. To gain this familiarity, they must articulate the sound patterns again and again in covert rehearsal. Unfortunately, many students feel a culture-imposed reluctance to talk to themselves aloud, even in private. We must face this proscription squarely or else our admonitions to practice aloud will be ignored. It is therefore vitally important to bestow on this activity some positive countervalues. Values such as these are mentioned: Talking out loud to oneself is a characteristic of good language learners. It is a sign of concern for quality. Talking aloud to oneself is what actors do when they learn their lines. It is what public speakers do before facing an audience.

Third, we suggest other opportunities for covert oral rehearsal. Even though silent rehearsal can take place at any time the learner is not otherwise engaged—while walking along, waiting for an appointment, lying in bed at night, daydreaming in the library—oral rehearsal is not always appropriate. Therefore, we must help the learner recognize opportunities for oral practice. If we can show learners how to make oral rehearsal time part of their other activities, they will benefit. For example, when they are doing required reading for other classes, they will come across words they have not heard before. They should see this as a chance for oral rehearsal. They can pause a moment, try to pronounce the word aloud, check their production against their rules, then correct aloud. In this way, they add directly to their oral control of the sound patterns used in the lexicon of their field of study or research. Suggestions like these open up to learners occasions they might not otherwise think of as opportunities for oral practice.

In short, although the road to skillful speech is almost entirely in the hands of our students, we teachers can play an important part in improving the likelihood of their success. We can sensitize our students to the nature of their language learning task. We can train them to examine the correctness of their speech by means of predicted pronunciations. And we can actively encourage them to incorporate rule-use into their private, everyday self-monitoring activities.

MONITORING IN THE MONITOR MODEL

Krashen (1981) offers researchers a model of language learning that not only has intuitive appeal but also accommodates a diverse array of research findings. In particular, it provides an interesting set of constructs with which to interpret the experiences of our research group. After sketching Krashen's model, we will look at our work from his point of view.

The central assumption of the Monitor Model is that there are two separate processes by which we develop an ability in a language, acquisition and learning. Acquisition is the means by which we subconsciously gained control of our first language; we picked it up in the context of social interaction. Adults, too, have the ability to acquire another language in this sense. Learning is the result of consciously manipulating language rules and receiving correction in the context of formal instruction. In this model, what we have *acquired* is available to initiate, or creatively construct, an utterance. What we have *learned* is available in the Monitor to modify already-initiated utterances, either before or after they are actually spoken.

Although support for the Monitor Model has come largely from morpheme-order and syntax studies (Krashen 1977), the model can shed light on what is happening in our pronunciation classes. Only two general points are discussed below. For more detail, see Dickerson, forthcoming a.

First, points of convergence. According to the model, explicit pronunciation rules of the sort we have discussed in this paper are housed in the Monitor and are distinct from the tacit rules of acquired competence. The learned rules in the Monitor do not originate utterances but function instead to correct the output of the acquired system when conditions allow.

Our experience and research bear out this dichotomy of rules and their difference of function. In the first place, our students can learn explicitly far more than they are able to demonstrate in unpremeditated performance. In the second place, we have found, in the study cited above, that learners' efforts to use rules to initiate speech only interfered with their fluency, while their efforts to use rules for correcting already-initiated utterances improved their fluency.

Our observations also support the claim that to use the Monitor at all, the speaker must be focusing on the form of the utterance and must have the time to bring to bear explicit rule information. Pronunciation rules, like formal grammar rules, have little place in natural conversational situations, because these prerequisites rarely co-occur there.

Second, a point of divergence. It is our impression that recent discussions of the Monitor Model have relegated the development of the Monitor (by rule learning) to such a minor role in second language teaching/learning that it is, in effect, being discouraged. Krashen (1981:107) clearly puts Monitor building in its place when he says, "While the research definitely gives acquisition the central role, it does not imply that learning should be rejected entirely." In our view, this near-rejection of Monitor building is an unfortunate, although perhaps necessary, swing of the pendulum. Our reason for this opinion is that, in the case of pronunciation rules, the Monitor seems to serve another, but largely unnoticed, function within the model, a function that may well be its most important contribution to the language acquisition process.

One claim arising from the Monitor Model is that effective second language acquisition requires a large quantity of intelligible input of the target language (1981:104–105). We agree completely. However, what we have discovered is that learners provide a great deal of their *own* input. As mentioned above, we have not yet found a single learner who does not rehearse target language utterances in private. In fact, personal observation and interviews point to the fact that many learners in our classes talk to themselves in the target language more than they talk to anyone else in the target language. That is their own output is one important source of their requisite input.

Another related claim is that the learners' optimal input is slightly above their level of competence at the moment (i + 1) (1981:102). When learners, in covert rehearsal, use formal rules to correct a trial utterance, the result is an utterance improved beyond what the learners could attain without the help of the rule. The utterance is at least at the level of (i + 1). This corrected output that they listen to and repeat is, in part, *optimal* input.

In short, little attention has been given to the role of covert rehearsal in increasing second language facility. Nevertheless, we have good reason to believe that the self-improvement potential of covert rehearsal—prime occasions for Monitor use—is especially great. For many of our students, who are already advanced in their language acquisition, the Monitor is in constant and abundant use in the common, but informal, activity of covert rehearsal. We attribute at least part of the increase in their pronunciation accuracy to this activity. We are not suggesting that learned rules somehow *leak* into the acquisition system; our research does not speak to that question. We are suggesting, however, that the output of a student's learning, in the form of self-corrected utterances, does affect the development of that student's acquisition system by supplying part of the needed optimal input of the target language.

The pedagogical implication of this output-to-input process is that we should teach our students formal rules in order to equip them for private self-monitoring. Then, during covert rehearsal, they can use their learned rules to contribute directly to the amount of optimal input they need to build their acquired rules. The work reported here can be interpreted as a classroom implementation of this idea.

CONCLUSION

Oral-aural practice with the sounds of English is important in pronunciation classes. Also important are formal rules. They have a role to play in the learner's interlanguage development. **The role of formal rules is to provide self-evaluation for purposes of self-correction.** This is the process—carried out primarily during covert rehearsal—in which learners judge their own utterances against rule-generated predictions, then self-correct in order to get intimately familiar with the sound patterns of oral English. Although we teachers are not directly involved in this process, it may turn out that one of the greatest contributions we can make to our students' language acquisition success will be to teach them overtly in class how to teach themselves covertly out of class.

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Developing Expectations for Text in Adult Beginning ESL Readers

Kenneth J. Pakenham

BEGINNING READING MATERIALS IN ESL: THE PROBLEM

The past decade has seen a welcome increase in research in ESL reading. There has also been a concomitant growth in the number of published textbooks, for intermediate and advanced adult learners of ESL, which reflect an attempt to address in practice those issues which the theoretical literature has highlighted (Baudoin, Bober, Clarke, Dobson and Silberstein, 1977; Long, Allen, Cyr, Pomeroy, Ricard, Spada, and Vogel, 1980; Sonka, 1981; Dubin and Olshtain, 1981; Zukowski/Faust, Johnston, Atkinson, and Templin, 1982). These materials adopt what has been called a *reading skills approach* to the teaching of ESL reading. Such an approach views reading as a number of different purposeful activties involving the exercise of a number of different skills. The activities include skimming, scanning, extensive and intensive reading, and are clearly related to the purpose which readers have in mind when they sit down to a text. The skills include the ability to distinguish between main and supporting ideas, between fact and opinion, between the opinions of the writer and those of others cited, to understand implications, to follow the logical development of the text, to deal with ambiguities, to cope with unknown vocabulary, and a number of other abilities. Despite some weaknesses in the materials, some of which are discussed by Hamp-Lyons (1982), both they and the approach which they seek to implement are welcome developments in the general area of ESL reading.

The specific area of beginning ESL reading,[1] however, has not yet witnessed a similar attempt to apply relevant theoretical insights to the development of more adequate instructional materials. Here, with the exception of one textbook

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[1] For the purpose of this paper, it is assumed that students already know the Roman alphabet. The discussion of theory and applications is primarily directed towards the teaching of adults who are learning ESL for academic or professional reasons.

(Connelly and Sims, 1982), what can be called the *word skills approach* to reading still holds sway. It is an approach which is typically represented by textbooks containing a variety of short texts, often syntactically and lexically controlled, with follow-up comprehension questions. After the reading and comprehension questions, the focus changes to exercises on vocabulary and word forms (derivational morphology) and to exercises of a word-level grammatical character, typically fill-in-the-blank exercises on the use of prepositions and articles.

From the preponderance of exercises focusing on words, it seems that the authors of such texts see the development of little more than lexical and morphological knowledge as the appropriate goal for reading instruction at the beginning level in ESL. While it is in the process of being supplanted by the reading skills approach at other levels of instruction, the word skills approach, therefore, seems in some sense to be still regarded as valid at the beginning level. I wish to argue here that a word-skills approach is inadequate even for beginning students and even if it is replaced by a reading-skills approach when the students reach an intermediate level of proficiency.

Four reasons can be suggested for the inadequacy of a word-skills approach. First, since the approach is based on an impoverished view of linguistic competence, concentrating on vocabulary, derivational morphology, article and preposition usage while almost completely ignoring syntax, it cannot hope to help students develop the rich linguistic competence which is ultimately necessary for efficient reading. Second, by ignoring reading skills and by not having students perform real reading tasks, the word skills approach may frustrate students who are good readers in their first languages and who expect to be the same in English.

A third and more general weakness of the word-skills approach is that it does not recognize the symbiotic nature of the relationship between language learning and reading in an intensive ESL program. Reading, as the discussion which follows will indicate, depends on linguistic knowledge. Yet one way to increase the pace of the acquisition of linquistic knowledge is to practice reading in English, as well as speaking it and listening to it. To the extent that acquiring a second language depends on being involved in meaningful communicative activities in that language, and to the extent that the word skills approach neglects reading for communication, it will offer little opportunity for real language learning to take place in the reading class.

The fourth and perhaps most important weakness of the word skills approach is that it may well foster or maintain the laborious and totally inefficient single word strategy which is an all too familiar and all too abiding characteristic of poor readers in ESL. Many of our students arrive in our classes burdened with unenlightened attitudes to reading, attitudes which are perhaps born of prior instructional experience. For them, for example, reading may only be reading aloud, or alternatively, merely a means to another linguistic end, such as vocabulary development or general language learning. So, through a neglect of reading skills combined with a preoccupation with language at the level of the single word, we in fact may be contributing to the development or maintenance of the very reading strategy which we wish to preempt or dismantle.

In spite of these manifest weaknesses of the word-skills approach, however, the solution to the problem of beginning reading instruction in ESL is not, as seems to have been the intention of Connelly and Sims (1982), to replace it with a version of the reading skills approach which pays no attention to the development of the students' linguistic knowledge. A more adequate solution is a synthesis of the reading skills and a richer *language skills approach* which focuses on syntax as well as vocabulary and morphology. I will base my argument for such an approach and for materials to implement it on a consideration of a concept central to Goodman's (1967) view of the reading process, namely the concept of prediction or expectation.

EXPECTATIONS IN READING

Much of the scholarship in the general area of ESL reading in the past decade has associated itself more or less closely with Goodman's conceptualization of the reading process as a "psycholinguistic guessing game" (Eskey, 1973; Clarke and Silberstein, 1977; Coady, 1979; Devine, 1983; Davidson, 1983). Behind the Goodman description lies a view of reading as an activity in which the reader is constantly forming, testing, rejecting, accepting, and revising hypotheses about different aspects of the text on the basis of a sampling of textual clues. It is on the formation of such hypotheses, the expectations of the title of this article, that I now wish to focus attention.

An efficient reader, Goodman argues, is a risk-taker who has the ability to form expectations about what may or may not follow in the text. There is evidence from research employing miscue analysis that the formation of such expectations is part of the reading process for native speakers (Goodman and Goodman, 1982). Their existence is also open to confirmation by introspection and self-observation, most clearly so in cases where expectations are not fulfilled. Consider the following paragraph and the six possibilities (a–f) for its acceptable conclusion:

Example 1.

> The evening at the expensive French restaurant which we had looked forward to so much turned out to be an unmitigated disaster. First, we lost our way and drove around for an hour before we found the restaurant. Then we found ourselves sitting at a table beside the door to the kitchen and being served by an extremely surly waiter. Finally. . . .
>
> a) we were not able to find anything remotely resembling a French dish on the menu.
> b) our meal, when we finally got it, was reheated and tasted awful.
> c) the bill came to an outrageous $20.
> d) the menu did not contain any of the spaghetti, linguine, or cannelloni dishes we like so much.
> e) Volkswagen had just announced a $900 rebate on 1983 Rabbits.
> f) the band was magnificent.

I would argue that possibilities (a) and (b) could be read as immediately acceptable conclusions to this paragraph. Possibilities (c), (d), (e), and (f), however, have a jarring effect on readers because they cannot immediately or easily be reconciled with expectations which have been formed, but which, until the reading of these possibilities, have remained in the readers' unconscious minds. As I discuss below, usually an attempt is made to resolve the apparent anomaly. But the reaction of surprise which most readers will feel on reading (c), (d), (e), or (f) makes it clear not only that we are capable of forming expectations but also that we make use of this ability while we read.

What kind of knowledge enables readers to generate such expectations?

Clearly, the first requirement is an accurate semantic interpretation of the linguistic forms which make up the part of the text which has already been read. Equally clearly, however, the linguistic competence which allows readers to generate accurate interpretations is by no means sufficient for them to make the predictions on which their judgments for acceptable conclusions to Example 1 are based. Background knowledge of the world, some of it general, some of it specific, is needed to make such predictions.

Research in language processing and artificial intelligence has been attempting to specify this knowledge, using such terms as *frames* (Minsky, 1975), or *scripts* (Schank and Abelson, 1977), or *schemata* (Becker, 1973) and has inspired some recent research in ESL (Johnson, 1982; Carrell, 1983). Such knowledge equips readers to expect something like (a) or (b) in Example 1, either of which is processed without difficulty. Possibilities (c) through (f) are much more problematic. Note, however, that readers appear to be able to suspend disbelief in the coherence of a text and appear to possess an *accommodation mechanism* through which an attempt is made to integrate an unexpected development (any of Possibilities (c) through (f) again) into their representation of the text. Often this is accomplished through the construction by readers of elaborate assumptions, which might be seen as more sophisticated versions of the "bridging assumptions" of Clark and Haviland (1974, 1977). Thus Possibility (e), for example, might be integrated with the rest of the text through the assumption that the writer had just purchased a VW Rabbit before the announcement of the rebate and was thinking of the unnecessary expenditure of $900. Other unexpected possibilities, for example (f), are even more difficult to integrate into the rest of the text. However, the fact that readers make attempts to reconcile unexpected text developments with the rest of the text is something to be borne in mind. Its pedagogical implications will be discussed in the section on expectation exercises.

If we now leave the subject of the readers' knowledge of the world and return to the topic of their linguistic knowledge, we can recognize that the process of forming expectations during reading does not merely concern the generation of predictions about what may follow semantically or rhetorically. It will become clear, in fact, that readers generate a set of expectations for the linguistic forms which may occur in the text. As an illustration of this point, consider the following two examples:

Example 2.

I went to a baseball game last night. It was damp and cold, and the stadium was almost empty. I think the weather discouraged . . .

a) people.
b) Ø
c) the fans from coming to the game.
d) lots of people to come to the game.
e) people to stay at home.

Example 3.

In this part of town . . .

a) has a lot of good, inexpensive restaurants.
b) students can usually find decent apartments.
c) there are many new apartment buildings.
d) is very popular among students.

If Example 2 were to finish with (b), (d), or (e), native speakers would be surprised, their expectations confounded, and their comprehension halted, at least temporarily. Their knowledge of the syntactic properties of *discourage* leads them to expect at least an object after the verb, thus ruling out (b) as an acceptable ending, or to expect an object, the preposition *from*, and the *-ing* form of a verb, thus ruling out (d) and (e). In addition, Possibility (e) is ruled out by the readers' knowledge of the semantic properties of *discourage*, namely that an action in its complementization must be the action not taken, rather than the action taken as an alternative.

After reading the introductory prepositional phrase in Example 3, native speaker readers would again have their expectations confounded by (a) or (d) as possible completions of the sentence. Their knowledge of syntax leads them to expect a subject sooner or later, but certainly before the occurrence of the main verb. Possibilities (b) and (c) are processed with no difficulty. Possibilities (a) and (d), on the other hand, cause the native speaker reader to halt, to think, and to make some kind of adjustment before perhaps going on to ascribe meaning to the sentence.

It seems, therefore, that we are capable of developing a second type of expectation while reading, expectations for linguistic form, and that our knowledge of grammar and vocabulary is the prerequisite to the development of such expectations. They are expectations which are doubtlessly generated at a different, less conscious level in our intellects than the level at which semantic expectations occur. But they are nonetheless real. However, the question remains whether they are a necessary part of the reading process or merely an intellectual trick which we can perform when called upon to do so.

Goodman and Goodman (1982) report on the miscues of a native speaker reader which show her choosing a linguistic structure which is grammatically reconcilable with the previously read portion of the text, but which is grammatically different from the structure which the writer of the text happened to choose. From such evidence, Goodman and Goodman conclude that readers predict the grammar as well as the meaning of a text.

Indications of the importance for reading of the generation of expectations for linguistic form are to be found in the reading behavior of beginning adult learners of ESL, in other words, in the reading behavior of those students whose linguistic knowledge is likely to be weakest. In his research with Spanish speaking learners of ESL, Clarke (1979, 1980) finds evidence that the transfer of effective reading strategies from native language reading (among them, according to Goodman's view of reading, the ability to generate expectations for semantic content) can be "short-circuited" by inadequate linguistic knowledge of English. Hatch (1974) mentions eye-fixation experiments with native and non-native speakers of English. While native speakers tended to concentrate on the content words of a text, beginning non-native speakers showed no such discrimination between content words and function words. This can be interpreted as an indication that the beginning readers in ESL, lacking the necessary linguistic knowledge, were unable to predict form and had to focus on it. By doing so, they had less time to focus on content words, to form a semantic representation for themselves of the text on the basis of which they could then generate expectations for what would follow. They were therefore inefficient readers.

From the discussion above, therefore, it can be argued that readers of ESL, particularly at the beginning level, are forced by their inadequate linguistic competence into a certain, conscious preoccupation with questions of linguistic form, certainly on the levels of lexis and syntax, possibly, but less so, on the level of morphology. Such a conscious preoccupation, instead of the swift and unconscious formation of expectations for form which characterizes efficient readers, puts great demands on ESL readers' mental capacities, including their short-term memory space. This in turn renders difficult or impossible the mobilization of other, non-linguistic knowledge which could allow reasonable predictions of semantic content to be integrated effectively into the reading process.

In summary, then, the examination of the concept of expectation has suggested the following:

i) Good readers use their linguistic knowledge to predict the grammatical forms which may occur in a text.
ii) Good readers also use their knowledge of rhetoric and of the world to make predictions about the semantic content of a text.
iii) If readers cannot do (i), they will not be able to consistently do (ii).

The generation of expectations for form is clearly not sufficient for good reading to take place; that has been demonstrated by the discussion of how essential world knowledge is for the ultimate formation of semantic expectations. However, generating expectations for form is a necessary part of the reading process. Therefore the task of enabling students to develop the ability to generate such expectations deserves our attention, especially during the early stages of ESL reading instruction.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING BEGINNING READING IN ESL

This examination of the nature of expectations and their role in the reading process suggests that one goal of reading instruction is to bring students to a point where they are generating and using expectations for text in more or less the same way as efficient native speaker readers do (cf. Oller's "expectancy hypothesis" (1983)). It also suggests that anything which can preempt the formation of such expectations is not conducive to effective reading instruction. So, for example, asking students to read a text the syntax and lexis of which are far beyond the students' linguistic competence is a poor instructional strategy in reading because it will prevent the expectation formation process.

From this, it might be concluded that beginning ESL instruction should focus solely on the development of the linguistic skills necessary for reading. However, I would agree with Been (1975), who sees that learning of such skills as the goal of only one component in the reading program, that an exclusive focus on language skills is not indicated even for beginning students. The exclusive use of the language skills approach would mean that the reading program would have three of the four weaknesses which have been identified as present in the word skills approach, namely (i) the possibility that we will frustrate good readers by not giving them real reading tasks; (ii) the non-utilization of real reading as a communicative language activity which will provide additional input for further real language learning; and (iii) the probable fostering of a single-word strategy and of an undesirable general attitude to reading merely as a language learning exercise and not as a communication activity in its own right.

Instead of focusing exclusively on language skills, therefore, beginning reading instruction should have both a language skills and a reading skills component. In the former, as has been shown necessary by the preceding discussion, systematic and explicit attention should be paid to sentential and intersentential syntax and to vocabulary development. In the latter, students would be given the opportunity of practicing different reading activities and mobilizing both language and reading skills in the pursuit of these activities.

A consideration of the notion of expectation, however, not only suggests the general organization of a beginning reading course. It also raises the specific possibility that prediction should be introduced into exercises in language and reading skills at this level. The unproven and untested assumption behind such exercises, of course, is that focused and conscious practice in the exercise of the skill of prediction will aid in the development of that skill and will enhance the chances of it being mobilized for real reading activities.

Anticipation exercises are not new to reading texts. But until now, they have only appeared in textbooks intended for intermediate and advanced learners of ESL, and they have focused almost exclusively on generating expectations for content with no attention to the development of language skills. Within the framework of a comprehensive reading course for adult beginning students of ESL, I have attempted to introduce prediction into language skill exercises which seek to teach students syntax and vocabulary as well as into reading skill exercises which give students a basic knowledge of English rhetoric and which encourage them to utilize this knowledge and their knowledge of the world. Examples of these exercises, all of which are being used with beginning students in the intensive ESL program of the English Language Institute at the University of Akron, are contained in the following section of this article. To date, student reaction to the exercises has been positive, though no objective evaluation of their effect on reading proficiency has been attempted. In the same section of the article, I have included comments on and discussion of the exercises.

Expectation Exercises

All of the exercise types illustrated here follow a multiple-choice format, perhaps giving them the appearance more of testing than of teaching activities. However, the character of these exercises as teaching-learning activities is reflected less in their format than in the way in which they are handled in the classroom. It is recommended that they be completed by students in a period of individually-paced work in the reading class. This allows the instructor to give feedback and guidance to students on an individual basis and helps ensure that such exercises are learning activities. Thus, if the exercises are testing exercises, they are so in a non-traditional sense, in that, given proper handling, they allow the students the opportunity to test and receive feedback on their own hypotheses about certain aspects of English texts.

Another reason for giving individual feedback is the possibility that the instructor will need to respond to unusual expectations on the part of students. In the discussion of the nature of semantic expectations, I demonstrated how, although a given textual development ran counter to expectations and was difficult to process, readers would strain to integrate the unexpected development into their representation of the text. We must assume that our students possess a similar accommodation mechanism for texts in their first language, and that they may therefore in some exercises make expectation choices which are relatively low on the probability scale but which are plausible, provided some other assumptions are made. Individual attention from the instructor should be able to establish if a student's unusual choice in an expectation task is due to the exercising of the accommodation mechanism or to genuine misunderstanding.

An assumption in all the exercises is that the students are familiar with the non-target vocabulary used in the exercises, and that they have had some explicit instruction in the target vocabulary items or the syntactic or rhetorical points which are the focus of a given exercise.

Syntax. The exercises in this section focus on a number of aspects of sentential syntax. An objective common to all of them, however, is to develop in students the ability to orient themselves within a sentence by identifying subject and main verb. Experience has shown that an inability to perform this task can pose reading problem for students, but that, when attention is paid to it, beginning students can quickly learn to handle sentences with complex noun phrase subjects.

Exercise 1 is intended to develop differentiated expectations about what may follow subject NP's and sentence-initial NP's inside prepositional phrases. It may also encourage beginning students to read in phrases rather than words, though this is not its primary purpose.

Exercise 1.

Instructions: How can the sentence continue? In these examples, read the beginning of each sentence. Then choose the correct possibility or possibilities for the later part of the sentences.

1. This part of town
   a) there are comfortable apartments.
   b) has a lot of apartment buildings.
   c) is really beautiful in spring and summer.
   d) live a lot of college students.
2. In this part of town,
   a) has a lot of good, inexpensive restaurants.
   b) students can usually find decent apartments.
   c) there are many new apartment buildings.
   d) is very popular among students.

Exercise 2 is designed to develop expectations for what can follow an initial determiner and head noun and to develop flexible expectations for the character of noun phrases (simple or with postmodifying prepositional phrases or relative clauses). Exercise 3 is intended to develop expectations for what follows complex NP's. Note that the inclusion of Possibility (d) will make the exercise less mechanical. It introduces, however, the additional element of acceptable subject-verb collocations.

Exercise 2.

Instructions: How can the sentence continue? In these examples, read the beginning of each sentence. Then choose the correct possibility or possibilities for the later part of the sentences.

1. The film
   a) was really enjoyable.
   b) in the Student Center starts at 8 o'clock tonight.
   c) which we saw on television last night.
   d) which we saw last night was very good.

Exercise 3.

Instructions: How can the sentence continue? In these examples, read the beginning of each sentence. Then choose the correct possibility or possibilities for the later part of the sentence.

1. The car which Ali bought last week
   a) broke down yesterday.
   b) which Carlos sold to him.
   c) uses a lot of gas.
   d) visited his friend.

Exercise 4 seeks to develop knowledge of the definite article and of its connection with restrictive relative clauses. With this knowledge, a reader can develop expectations for restricted relative clauses. Note that the exercise is contextualized and that, although the immediate objective is acquisition of linguistic competence, the exercise is similar to real reading in that the semantic content of the text must be understood to do the exercise successfully. Note also that 1(d) and 2(c) are unexpected possibilities on which some students might use their accommodation mechanism.

Exercise 4.

Instructions: Read the first sentence of each example. Then choose the sentence or sentences which could follow it. Each pair of sentences which you make must make good sense.

1. Mayumi and Maria looked at many apartments in the first week of the semester.
   a) The apartment cost $300 a month and was five minutes from the campus.
   b) The apartment which they finally rented was expensive, but it was near the campus.
   c) But a lot of the apartments were too expensive for them.
   d) The apartment which I rented last year was not comfortable.
2. There are many serious problems in some developing countries.
   a) One of the problems is that there is not enough work.
   b) The problem is that they don't have enough food for their people.
   c) The problem which I had with my car changed my plans.
   d) The problem which they have to solve first is the problem of feeding their people.

Vocabulary. These exercises are intended to help students learn vocabulary and to develop expectations based to a large extent on their vocabulary knowledge. Exercises 1 and 2 are examples of an uncontextualized and a contextualized exercise designed to develop expectations for what can be the object of a given verb. Similar exercises can be used for verb-subject selectional restrictions.

Exercise 1.

Instructions: Choose the things people could *improve*:

a) their English
b) the weather
c) their families
d) their pronunciation
e) their grades
f) their mistakes
g) their problems
h) their cooking

Exercise 2.

Instructions: Read each example. Then choose the phrase or phrases which you could use for the end of the last sentence of each example. You can often complete the sentence in different ways. Mark all the phrases which are possible.

In this state, too many people drive their cars after they drink alcohol. Often they have accidents and kill or injure other people. The state government is trying to *solve*

a) people who drink.
b) this problem.
c) the number of accidents.
d) the problem of drunk driving.
e) the people who get hurt.
f) the problem of poor medical care.
g) the state's money troubles.
h) the problem of people who drink and drive.

Exercise 3 allows students to think associatively, guided by a general topic. A follow-up possibility is to present to the students a paragraph about soccer and let them experience how accurate their lexical predictions were.

Exercise 3.

Instructions: You are going to read a paragraph about *soccer*. Choose all the words which you expect in the paragraph.

a) stadium
b) concert
c) game
d) to rent
e) team
f) ball
g) movies
h) audience
i) spectators
j) to lose

Exercises 4 and 5 combine the development of vocabulary knowledge with the exercising of students' capacities for recognizing logical connections. The logical connections are linguistically implicit in Exercise 4, and linguistically explicit in Exercise 5 through the use of discourse markers. The italicized words are the target vocabulary items for these exercises:

Exercise 4.

Instructions: Read the following examples. Then try to imagine the ideas which will perhaps follow. Choose the idea or ideas which are possible.

1. Last summer I traveled by *boat* from England to France in the middle of a bad *storm*.
   a) The sea was very *rough*, and I became sick.
   b) The water was very *calm*, and I really enjoyed the trip.
   c) The *waves* were very high, of course, but I enjoyed the trip.
2. No one could be *saved* from the boat which *sank* in the storm last week.
   a) The bad weather *prevented* lifeboats and helicopters from reaching the *ship*.
   b) The *survivors* were pulled out of the water by men of the Coast Guard.
   c) The sea *conditions* were the *worst* for many years, and the *ship* went down very fast.
   d) The Coast Guard found the *ship*, but there was no one on it.

Exercise 5.

Instructions: Read the first sentence of these examples. Then read the beginning of the second sentence. Then try to imagine the ideas which could follow. Choose all the possible ideas which you could expect in the second sentence.

1. The weather was very bad last weekend. *But* we
   a) got very cold and wet at the football game.
   b) enjoyed the football game a lot.
   c) did not have a good time at the football game which we saw.
   d) still had an enjoyable weekend with our friends.

Vocabulary and rhetoric. The one exercise in this section seeks both to teach vocabulary (italicized) and to give students a first idea of what they can expect rhetorically in an English paragraph, namely that the writer keeps the contract which is established with the readers to focus on one topic. Note that Possibilities (a), (d) and (f), though hardly disadvantages, might be integrated by students using their accommodation mechanisms, for example, by concession. Attention to individual student responses is therefore again seen to be necessary. A follow-up possibility for this type of exercise, as with Exercise 3 in the Vocabulary Section, is to have students read a real paragraph with the same topic and to let them compare the content of the paragraph with their own predictions. Feedback on their predictions could be delayed until the reading of the paragraph is completed.

I. Instructions: Read the first sentence in each example. This sentence gives the main idea of a paragraph which you are going to read. Think about the idea. Then choose all the other ideas which you could expect in the paragraph.

But the airships of the 1920's and 1930's had a number of *disadvantages*.
a) Airships could stay in the air for a long time.
b) The gas in airships was dangerous; it could explode easily.
c) It was difficult to control an airstrip in strong winds.
d) Airships could carry more passengers than the planes of that time.
e) Airships could not fly well in bad weather.
f) Airships were faster than the passenger ships which crossed the Atlantic.

CONCLUSION

This examination of the nature and role of expectations in reading has suggested that both a reading skills and a language skills component are necessary in a program of reading instruction for adult beginning ESL students. In addition, the examination has suggested directions for the development of reading exercises specifically designed to teach syntax, vocabulary, and rhetoric and to encourage the formation and use of expectations by readers of ESL. Initial experience with these exercises and feedback from both instructors and students indicate that students find them a meaningful and enjoyable learning activity. Any objective pedagogic assessment of the exercises and of the approach on which they are based will, of course, necessitate a more rigorous testing of their effectiveness in ESL reading instruction. Until such an assessment is available, however, individual ESL instructors who believe that expectation formation may benefit their students may wish to develop their own expectation-oriented exercises and, in doing so, add to the quality and quantity of the exercise types outlined in this article.

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Patterns and Perils of Guessing in Second Language Reading

Margot Haynes

INTRODUCTION

In the last twenty-five years, the active nature of language acquisition and language use has gained increasing recognition (Chomsky 1959; Brown 1973; Cromer 1976; Dulay and Burt 1978). Human beings learn and comprehend language not only through perceiving but also through their own internal structuring of linguistic messages. Such a top-down view of human cognition emphasizes the active contribution of perceivers who reshape external stimuli via their own self-generated input—such as their background knowledge and natural systematicity—while constructing their individual models of the world. This top-down description of human cognition has affected our characterization of all modes of language use, including reading.

Psycholinguistic models of reading describe readers as active samplers of text who combine text context with their knowledge about writing, language, and the world in general in order to read more efficiently, using prediction to take short-cuts in bottom-up processing of letters and words (Goodman 1967; Smith 1978). The field of ESL has not been impervious to the claims of these top-down reading models. Teachers and textbook writers have developed methods which foster active reading, particularly in the area of vocabulary comprehension. Instead of presenting single meanings of isolated words, textbooks now often recommend that students guess at the meaning of unfamiliar words by using context clues.

Among the many ESL practitioners advocating this shift to the guessing of vocabulary from context (Clarke and Silberstein 1977; Kruse 1979; Hosenfeld,

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Arnold, Kirchofer, Laciura, and Wilson 1981), Twaddell (1973) has presented one of the most carefully reasoned arguments. Twaddell points out that, since words are almost always polysememic, teachers may mislead students by teaching single word meanings out of context. In addition, since most words in a language have only a low frequency of occurrence, dictionary precision and list memorization cannot ever provide language students with enough vocabulary to understand all the words they encounter while reading. Twaddell therefore recommends that ESL reading teachers focus on reading skills development rather than vocabulary building. By learning how to be better guessers, students can figure out the meanings of the many words in reading which they have not encountered before.

Twaddell and others also frequently draw an analogy between L1 and L2 reading. Twaddell points out that when native speakers encounter a new word in reading, they usually skip the unfamiliar item or guess at its meaning from context. Since this works well for the fluent L1 reader, Twaddell concludes that the L2 reader should develop similar ways of handling new words.

Many recent ESL reading texts are based on this analogy between L1 and L2 readers and also reflect the widespread acceptance of top-down models of reading, models which portray readers as generators of guesses who rely to a large extent on context clues while constructing the meaning of a text. As shown in Fig. 1, most recent ESL readers recommend that students focus on meaning rather than language or vocabulary development as they read in the second language. Since fast reading is considered the best way to grasp the main ideas of a text, many of these reading textbooks are designed to train ESL students to read more quickly. This leads to an emphasis on guessing the meaning of new vocabulary from context. It is thought that if a student stops to look up words in the dictionary, this will slow reading speed and thus weaken comprehension. If one learns to skip or guess from context, integrative reading can still take place. That is why many of these textbooks also advocate banning dictionaries from the reading class.

In addition, Clarke and Silberstein's (1977) distinction between reading skills and language skills is honored in several of these texts. Vocabulary development is classed as a language skill which does not necessarily belong in the reading class. However, the same texts which separate vocabulary from reading skills still implicitly acknowledge that mastery of vocabulary is an important part of second language reading development. Some of the texts provide exercises designed to help students practice word analysis and word formation skills. Also, many texts carefully recycle vocabulary several times in readings and exercises so that students get more than one exposure to new words. Thus these reading texts suggest a commitment to building vocabulary knowledge, yet all the while claiming that vocabulary learning and reading are separable.

Finally, several of these ESL texts try to develop vocabulary and guessing skills by adding redundancy to their reading passages. They often give definitions or extensive clues within the text when a new word appears. These texts are designed to encourage students to guess word meaning from context, but the context provided is unusually rich so that students will have a better chance at success when guessing.

These textbooks are quite consistent in their acceptance of the analogy between ESL reading and top-down models of fluent L1 reading. Nevertheless, this analogy is rendered questionable by recent research in both first and second language reading.

Fig. 1: Characteristics of some recent reading textbooks

Characteristics	Textbooks						
	Hirasawa + Markstein 1974	Baudoin et al. 1978	Long et al. 1980	Abraham + Mackey 1982	Zukowski/ Faust et al. 1982	Zukowski/ Faust et al. 1983	Connely + Sims 1982
1. Reading for meaning = primary	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
2. Fast reading to be encouraged	X				X	X	X
3. Vocabulary guessing in context to be encouraged	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
4. Dictionaries not to be used while reading	X			X		X	X
5. Reading skill development + vocabulary development = separate	X	X	X				X
6. Word-form exercises included	X	X	X	X			
7. Vocabulary reused in textbook				X	X	X	X
8. Text provides strengthened redundancy			X	X	X	X	X

First of all, though psycholinguistic models of reading emphasize the contributions of linguistic and world knowledge to the reading process, other research on the development of L1 reading indicates that such top-down processing is only part of the story. Rapid, precise recognition of letters and words, that is, bottom-up, more input-constrained processing, must be mastered before fluent reading can take place (Biemiller 1970; Perfetti, Goldman, and Hogaboam 1979). In fact, there is evidence that becoming a more fluent, efficient L1 reader involves increasing one's bottom-up processing of print and decreasing syntactic and semantic guesswork (Stanovich, West, and Feeman 1981). Whether this is also true for L2 reading acquisition remains an open question.

A second concern about the analogy between L1 and L2 reading is raised by findings that L2 reading poses special difficulties, even for individuals who are skilled readers in their first language (Clarke 1979). Although intermediate L2 students seem to handle syntactic clues in reading as well as do L1 readers and more advanced L2 students, they seem less skilled in their use of semantic and discourse clues (Cziko 1978; 1980). Another gap between L1 and L2 readers is the striking difference in their speed of reading. For example, in Israel, Cohen, Glasman, Rosenbaum-Cohen, Ferrara, and Fishman (1979) found that college students who were L2 readers of English needed between one and two hours to read 15 pages of a textbook, while native speakers finished the same task in only twenty minutes. The major factor slowing down ESl readers is not the number of eye fixations per line nor the number of regressions they make while reading; rather, Tullius (1971) and Oller (1972) report that, at least for college-age ESL students, average fixations last much longer for L2 readers than they do for native speaking readers.

There is no clear experimental evidence explaining these longer visual fixation times, but a strong possibility involves the time required for lexical access, that is, the time it takes for a reader to match the printed word to a word meaning in memory. Macnamara (1970) compared the time required to match a known word to its corresponding picture. Readers took significantly longer to decide on the match when the word was in their second language than when it was a word in their native tongue. If it takes readers longer to access lexical meaning in the second language, that is, to remember what a given word means, readers will naturally take longer on each fixation on the page.

Given these differences between L1 and L2 reading, one might question the analogy between them which underlies the emphasis on guessing in current ESL reading textbooks. Not only has reading acquisition been shown to require mastery of bottom-up processes, but also L2 readers have been shown to differ in several important ways from fluent L1 readers. Therefore, it seems premature to claim that since skilled L1 readers often skip or guess at new words in context we must teach ESL students to do the same when they encounter new words.

AN OBSERVATIONAL STUDY OF GUESSING

A reasonable way to evaluate the guessing-from-context recommendations of ESL texts is to observe how ESL readers guess at unfamiliar words. Can they do it successfully? In which situations are they most likely to succeed? What information do they use in making their guesses? Do students from different language backgrounds guess differently?

A study was designed to seek preliminary answers to these questions. Adult ESL students were asked to guess at problem words after they had read and recounted two short passages. Subsequent analysis of students' guessing successes and failures provides a clearer picture of how L2 readers go about guessing word meaning in context.

Method

Background data on the subjects is presented in Table 1. Volunteers were recruited from Michigan State University's English Language Center. Although approximately twenty students volunteered from each of the language backgrounds to be studied—Spanish, Japanese, and Arabic—it was decided to study the Tunisian Arabic speakers separately from other Arabic speakers. This decision resulted from observation of differences in reading speed between the two groups and from the fact that at least half of the schooling in Tunisia is in French rather than Arabic.

Table 1: Subject Background Data

Native Language	n	Age	Years of English Study	Time in U.S.	Proficiency Level	Instructional Emphasis in home country
Spanish	22	24.9	5.3 (1-10	4.1 mos.	18 low 4 high	grammar
Japanese	19	24.3	8.2 (6-12)	2.7 mos.	5 low 14 high	reading, writing, grammar
Arabic/ French (Tunisian)	11	19.1	3.0 (3-4)	1.6 mos.	0 low 11 high	all skills
Arabic	11	29.2	6.7 (2-11)	6.4 mos.	6 low 5 high	speaking + listening

According to the English Language Center's English Proficiency Exam, the Tunisian and Japanese groups consisted mostly of students with high English proficiency, while the Spanish group contained mostly lower proficiency students. This precluded separation of language background from proficiency variables, but it was still possible to observe the effects of language background in some of the guessing patterns.

The readings used were adaptations of two stories about animals (Passage A from an excerpt in O'Reilly and Streeter 1977; Passage B from one of the folktales in Binner 1966). The passages had parallel story structure and syntax. Both were two paragraphs long, with the second paragraph a flashback, increasing the difficulty level from that of simple chronological structure:

Passage A:

The young brill tapped his teeth together as he swam lazily in a wide circle around Brine Bay. It was such a peaceful spring afternoon that he felt absolutely on top of the world. "Today the sun is radiant and the waves are bimidor; I've got plenty to eat, the water has been getting warmer bit by bit, and I lead a most comfortable brill's life," he thought contentedly.

He had come into the world back in January, a splendid male of fourteen feet. Upon his arrival in the brill habitat, his enormous mother had nuzzled him softly and, having no arms or legs with which to hug him, had expressed her love for her offspring by circling him in the water. Afterwards, she led him up to the surface to give some blows from his spout. Finally, having fed him some milk, she took him on a tour of the area where he would be living from that day on.

Passage B:

The old baild licked his mouth happily as he lay on his side under the tall blue spruce. It was such a beautiful fall evening that he felt like taking it easy. "Tonight the moon is bright

> and the wind is silidon; I've had plenty to eat, the people have probably gone home for the night, and I can enjoy a nice, quiet evening," the old baild thought contentedly.
>
> He had been really hungry earlier that day, tired out from many a useless chase. Upon his discovery of the smell of meat cooking, he had crept up on a campfire abd, seeing no people or guns which could hurt him, had gotten his dinner quite easily by pulling it from the fire. Afterwards, he carried it in his mouth and ran up to the hilltop to tear it apart at his leisure. Finally, having finished his dinner, the baild looked around at the places where a hunter might come to find him.

Each passage contained two nonsense words. As in Homburg and Spaan (1982) and Walker (1981), nonsense words were used to make sure that no student would have previous knowledge of the words to be guessed. The nonsense words were placed so as to allow a comparison of global versus local context use. One of the nonsense words in each passage could be guessed by referring to the immediate sentence context; the other required integration of information throughout the passage. The locally defined word appeared only once in each passage, while the globally defined one appeared three times.

Individual interviews with students began with an informal discussion of their background of English study. Then the reading and retelling task was explained. Instructions were as follows: "Read through the passage one time and then tell me what you have understood from your reading." After reading each passage, the student was asked, "Tell me what you understood, what you remember about the story." The session was taped from the beginning of the first retelling.

After both readings and retellings, the student was shown each passage again and asked which words had made the story difficult to understand. As each word was pointed out, the student was asked to guess orally what that problem word might mean. After the student's guessing attempt was complete, the experimenter either confirmed the guess or, if it was completely inappropriate or if no guess had been ventured, gave the student a verbal explanation of the meaning in that context.

The background interview, readings, retellings, and discussion of problem words with guessing took from one to one-and-a-half hours.

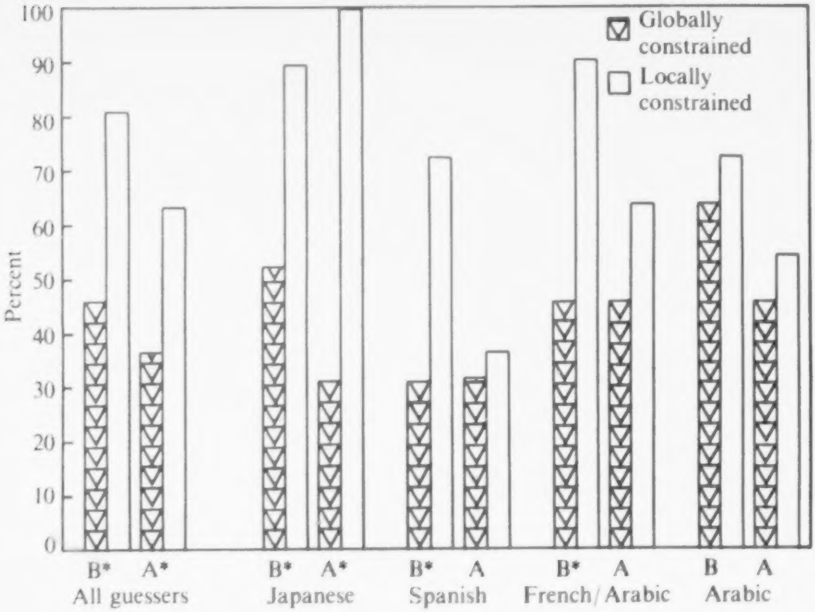
Results and discussion of nonsense word guessing

Since all students were unfamiliar with the nonsense words in each passage, these words provided a controlled set of data with which the success of guessing could be studied.

As shown in Figure 2, the group as a whole was quite successful at guessing nonsense words defined by local context. With words requiring an integrated comprehension of the passage as a whole, guessing was less successful. Fewer than half the students were able to guess that the main character was an animal.

When the sample is broken down into individual language groups, the same tendency is observed. All groups profited more from local context clues than they did from global ones. This difference was significant with Passage B for all groups except Arabic monolinguals, whose global guessing performance came close to their performance on local guessing. This difference between Arabic monolinguals and other groups may be due to the small sample size, but also might suggest a preference in the Arabic group for global processing. Clearly, further study with larger groups is needed to test this possibility. On the whole, though, local guessing appeared easier for L2 readers than global guessing.

Fig. 2: Proportion of readers making appropriate guesses for nonsense words in passages B and A



*p<.05 that differences between proportions are due to chance.

With Passage A, although the group as a whole succeeded better at guessing the locally defined word, *bimidor* (that is, guessing that the waves were small, smooth, or quiet), than the globally defined word *brill*, only the Japanese guessers showed a significant difference between local and global guessing. Readers in other groups experienced difficulty in local guessing because they did not know the meaning of the word *waves* (8 Spanish, 1 Arabic, and 2 Tunisians). Low proficiency may account for the fact that over a third of the Spanish speakers did not know what *waves* meant, though one Spanish speaker's pronunciation of this word as "wives", followed by a guess that it meant the opposite of "husbands", suggests that spelling pronunciation from the native language may have caused added difficulty in recognizing this word. Differences in L1 and L2 graphophonemic systems, plus the limited vocabulary knowledge of lower level students, both seem to limit second language readers' ability to make appropriate guesses. In other words, what may appear to be a transparent, guessable context to native English speakers may actually be incomprehensible for L2 readers, either because they mispronounce a clue word or simply do not know its meaning.

In summary, these students showed that even without special training in context use they could achieve a high rate of success when guessing at words which were locally defined. ESL readers do appear to have a natural ability to guess, but they are limited by their understanding of other words in the immediate context.

Therefore it is likely that lower proficiency students with less vocabulary knowledge will find guessing much more difficult. In addition, when ESL readers have to integrate longer sections of text in order to guess a word's meaning, they perform less well, even when the word appears several times. Guessing is apparently more difficult when comprehension of longer contexts is required. For such situations, students need strategies other than guessing from context. If *brill* or *baild* were real words, and if reading comprehension were the main goal of reading, consulting a dictionary or asking a native speaker would seem to be more efficient strategies than agonizing over the text trying to deduce the word's meaning from context.

Results and discussion of other guessing patterns

Limits of context clues. The importance of local context clues was confirmed by the pattern of guessing successes and failures observed for real words which were problem words for many readers. In those instances when more than half of the students reached appropriate meanings for an unfamiliar word, many of them relied on words from the immediate context when giving definitions. For instance, many students explained the word *tapped* as a way in which "he moved his teeth, *licked* as a way "he moved his mouth", *Brine Bay* as a place where he was swimming and *radiant* as meaning the sun was bright or shining.

In contrast to these contextually guessed words, several common problem words proved difficult to interpret. *Waves, splendid* and *enormous* in the first reading and *chase, crept up*, and *leisure* in the second reading were rarely guessed successfully by students. These words are not accompanied by any immediate context clues, so it is hardly surprising that they proved difficult to guess.

This demonstrates again that, in some cases, guessing from context is not a fruitful strategy. Students need to have other strategies to turn to when guessing from context fails them. There is a real danger that indiscriminately urging students to guess will result in so much frustration and failure for students that they completely reject the guessing approach, even when the context is sufficiently explicit to allow guessing to be successful.

Furthermore, one might question whether reading texts should supply a great deal of redundancy in an artificial manner. For one thing, this misleads the student about the nature of texts in English. In addition, it would seem more useful for students themselves to learn to recognize those cases in which context is of no help. Rather than making a completely random guess, students can then decide whether to skip the word as unimportant or get help from a dictionary. Just like an over-protective teacher, completely guessable texts may leave students without other strategies to fall back on when they encounter less redundant writings.

Noncontextual word-analysis guessing. ESL readers have been found to be successful guessers given adequate context, but the guesses observed through the study often showed students resorting to noncontextual strategies. They frequently analyzed an unfamiliar word to find a familiar morpheme within it. For example, with the problem word *tapped*, two Japanese students referred to their knowledge of *tap-dancing*, related it to the unit *tap* in the problem word, and achieved a precise definition of the unknown vocabulary item. Also, half of the Arabic readers succeeded in guessing *campfire* by analyzing it into "fire" and "an outdoors place".

This word-analysis strategy was not always successful, however. Spanish speakers and Tunisians tended to go astray when they analyzed *campfire* using cognates from their native or schooled language. They interpreted the morpheme *camp* to mean a place with many people, like a military camp. Six Spanish readers actually defined *campfire* as a place for war, a battlefield. (This interpretation was probably reinforced by the mention of *guns* later in the same sentence.) The inappropriate meaning resulting from word-analysis had serious consequences for at least two Spanish readers, who based their entire story schema on this faulty guess, deciding in the end that *baild* actually meant a kind of soldier or a grade in the military. They interpreted the story to be about a soldier running away from battle. Thus, with cognate languages, word analysis has the potential for seriously misleading the student.

On the other hand, it would be foolish to teach Spanish or French speakers to ignore the similarities between their native language and English. Cognate recognition is too useful to be abandoned. With passage A, for example, even though *radiant* and *splendid* were problem words for a majority of Japanese and Arabic readers, they were not even mentioned as unfamiliar words by most Spanish and French readers.

Since cognates provide a useful knowledge base, one might predict that Spanish and French readers would use the word-analysis strategy more often than students from non-cognate backgrounds, but this did not appear to be the case. Three Japanese students, faced with the word *habitat*, tried to relate it to "habit" or "being used to something". Another Japanese reader made a valiant effort to relate *enormous* to "normal" or "abnormal". And students from every language background, more than half of all students interviewed, guessed at *offspring* using word analysis, defining it as "the end of spring" or "the end of a season".

Such misinterpretations may often result when teachers and textbooks encourage students to rely totally on guessing. After all, it is only natural to try to interpret new items on the basis of units one already knows. This strategy is useful if a stem morpheme is correctly isolated by the reader and if the reader already knows a relevant meaning for it. But opportunities for erroneous analysis abound. Students need instruction in the art of double-checking a guess with the context; if the context clashes with the word-analysis interpretation, then further checking with a native speaker or a dictionary would be advisable.

Mismatches in guessing. With word analysis, students match graphic units to words which they remember from previous encounters in English or their cognate language. In the examples above, remembered spelling was matched to the graphic form of the page. But one of the most surprising patterns observed was that ESL readers often make wrong guesses because of graphemic or phonemic *mismatches*,[2] the word they access in memory is spelled and/or pronounced differently from the word on the page. For example, three readers saw "top" in the word *tapped*, while another saw the morpheme "tape". One low-level Spanish reader, after giving an extremely appropriate retelling of the *brill* passage, discovered in rereading it that he had pictured a water animal because he had misrecognized the word *swam* as "swan"!

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[2] The term *mismatch* is used in contrast to Goodman's (1967) term *miscue*. While a miscue is said to occur when an oral reading response fails to match the expected one, a mismatch occurs, not in fluent reading, but in deliberate guessing during which more time is available for study of the graphic form and for memory search.

Two Japanese readers guessed that *splendid* meant "to make wide or "spread". A Spanish reader guessed that *crept* might be a kind of pancake. And one Arabic reader who failed to point out *silidon* as a problem word responded, when questioned about it, that it meant "not often" (seldom). These examples demonstrate that students are attending to word shape, but there is a good deal of imprecision in matching graphophonemic shape to words in their lexical memory. This tendency was observed with students from all language backgrounds, although the few Spanish readers who had scored highest on English language proficiency tests had less difficulty with mismatches than did other students.

The processes leading to such mismatches are probably both top-down and bottom-up. They are relatively bottom-up in that the graphic shape of individual words exerts a strong influence on the guesses proposed. At the same time, however, they may be considered top-down, since students' background knowledge—such as their native language phonology, writing system, and the graphophonemic mapping of the writing system (Haynes 1981)—may cause them to misrecognize the graphic stimulus in the process of trying to match it to words in memory. Still, these mismatches are not top-down guesses in the usual sense (see Carrell 1983) of deriving from the reader's higher level linguistic and world knowledge.

In fact, one striking aspect of mismatches, as well as word-analysis guesses, was that they were frequently in conflict with the syntactic context. This is surprising considering Cziko's (1978) and Walker's (1981) finding that L2 readers are generally skilled in applying syntactic knowledge while reading and guessing. But in cases of word analysis and mismatches, it appeared as if the saliency of word shape overrode the reader's ability to attend to syntactic relations. It seemed as if the more familiar a word looked, the more difficult it was for L2 readers to shift attention away from graphophonemic form in order to fit a guess to the syntactic context.

This phenomenon can occur for L1 readers as well. To demonstrate the power of word-shape in reading, here are two sentences from a text used by Homburg and Spaan (1982) in which nonsense words were inserted in a text about the behavior of birds:

> And in some species, fledglings must even be *mexed* by their parents during their first autumn migration.
>
> Crohmann thus proved that the instinctive *grumpity* to fly develops in young birds with or without the opportunity to practice.

In these sentences, despite the fact that the underlined word is known to be a nonsense word, it is hard not to process it as a familiar word such as *vexed* or *mixed*, *grumpy* or *grumpiness*. The graphophonemic configuration of the unknown item dominates in the reader's initial processing of it, and it is a struggle to put such associations aside and attend to syntactic and semantic context. If familiar-looking words cause so much dissonance between word-shape and syntax processing for the native speaker, it is hardly surprising that word form is more salient than context for the L2 reader.

The uncertainty of familiarity. The guessing patterns discussed above demonstrate that word-unit processing is a major component of reading in both L1 and L2. But there is another reason that word shape holds the attention of L2 readers: in a second language, deciding whether a word is familiar or not takes extra time and effort. During the guessing interviews, students often hesitated when pointing out problem words. Sometimes they would report that they had seen a word before but had forgotten its meaning; at other times, they would pick out a word as problematic, then suddenly realize that they did in fact know its meaning.

This uncertainty surrounding word recognition may well constitute a major difference between L2 readers and fluent L1 readers. The latter have large, well-practiced vocabularies and long experience recognizing words in print. They quickly know when a word is unknown and can easily decide to skip it. Second language readers, on the other hand, search for familiar units as they read, but are often unsure whether a word is really new or not. Thus it is not surprising that any flash of familiarity in a word arrests their attention, making the context fade into the background.

Perhaps researchers have never emphasized this point because the cloze technique has been the major method used for investigating prediction and guessing in L2 reading. With cloze tests, words to be guessed appear as blanks and thus cannot distract the reader by their graphemic structure. In non-cloze reading, however, readers attend to word form in order to decide whether a given word is stored in their mental lexicon or not. This appears to be a harder decision for L2 readers than for fluent L1 readers, one which may take more attention away from top-down, contextual processing.

Generalizability of this study. It might be argued that the importance of graphemic cues and word-unit processing observed in this study was an artifact of the task. Perhaps students were attending to word-level cues rather than larger context because they had already read through the passage once and, at the point of guessing, were only rereading for the purpose of identifying problem words.

This argument is weakened by converging evidence from other studies showing bottom-up processing to be central in the reading of L2 students. Cziko (1980) observed from L2 subjects' oral reading miscues that lower proficiency students seemed more focussed on surface graphemic shape and less on the semantic flow of ideas. Hatch, Polin, and Part (1974), using a letter cancellation task, found that less proficient L2 readers crossed out a given letter uniformly throughout a text, as if relying mainly on visual cues, while native speakers missed the letter when it occurred in unstressed or semantically unimportant contexts. Both of these studies suggest that L2 readers of lower proficiency attend more closely to visual cues in reading than do more proficient language users.

Another important indication that bottom-up word identification processes play a major role in L2 reading has been provided by Walker (1981). She used nonsense words to examine guessing strategies of high proficiency L2 students. She asked them to read an English text while reporting in their native language (Spanish) how they were going about understanding its meaning. Walker found that the preferred strategy when a nonsense word blocked the flow of meaning was that of pronouncing the word aloud. A frequent follow-up strategy was graphemic, that is, associating the nonsense word with another word, in English or Spanish, which had a similar spelling.

Walker (1981) argues that pronunciation and graphemic strategies should be discouraged by teachers, since in her study these rarely led to appropriate guesses, but it would seem rather that such *strategies*[3] are essential processing stages in normal reading. Although pronunciation and graphemic guesses are bound to fail with nonsense words, they are probably the most efficient means of access to the mental lexicon of L2 readers for most words in the text. Anticipating an up-coming word depends on sophisticated experience with syntactic and collocational relations which L2 readers may often lack, but retrieval of word meaning from memory can take place by looking directly at the word's shape or testing its sound against familiar vocabulary learned through spoken language experience. Although this study has pointed out many cases in which these procedures failed, they certainly succeeded for words which students did not point out as problems. Rather than deny that graphophonemic structure is important in L2 reading, teachers might help students to improve the accuracy of their word recognition so that they can increase the speed and efficiency of their lexical retrieval.

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[3] The word *strategy* implies an element of choice in the use of ways to reach meaning while reading. If graphemic and maybe phonemic processing are necessary for lexical access, then they should be called something else than *strategies* *basic processes*, perhaps.

CONCLUSIONS

The importance of word-unit processing needs to be recognized in ESL teaching. First, precision of encoding spelling and pronunciation can be increased through oral and written practice of important vocabulary from reading. Discussion of the text, with some emphasis on accurate pronunciation of vocabulary, and text-related compositions, with students being encouraged to use vocabulary from the reading, are both ways in which vocabulary practice can take place in meaningful contexts. Also, dictionary work may be useful in helping students to separate words which look or sound similar. The goal of this vocabulary development should include accuracy in writing and pronunciation so that students can learn to distinguish new words efficiently in lexical memory.

Top-down practice should also be retained in ESL reading classes. Reading for meaning and guessing from context are both essential. Students need to develop flexibility in reaching meaning when their focus on word configuration and direct lexical retrieval fail. Learning to re-evaluate initial guesses is as important as learning to make a first guess. Not only context, but dictionary use, may provide additional ways of reaching meaning when other routes fail. The goal of top-down reading instruction should not be absolute independence from the dictionary, but rather an increase in students' flexibility, knowing where and how to look for meaning when the handiest sources of information fail to make sense.

From this preliminary observation of ESL readers' guessing strategies, useful insight has been gained into factors affecting the guessing process:

1. ESL readers are good guessers when the context contains immediate clues.
2. Insufficient context, global clues, or a student's lack of vocabulary knowledge may increase the difficulty of guessing.
3. Word analysis is used by students from all the language backgrounds studied.
4. Graphemic cues (in cognates, analyzed words, and mismatches) are highly salient and may override syntactic cues.
5. ESL readers are often uncertain as to whether a word is familiar or not and thus must attend to word structure before deciding to skip or guess.

These insights into the reading of second language learners indicate that their processing of written language is necessarily bottom-up as well as top-down. Clearly, much more observation and experimentation is needed to understand guessing strategies, particularly as they differ with students of different language backgrounds. Still, the insights listed above provide support for the following suggestions, offered to ESL teachers who must make daily decisions about guessing in the reading class:

1. Encourage guessing when students have ample clues available in the immediate context.
2. Be sensitive to the fact that low proficiency students may experience more difficulty with guessing because of their limited linguistic knowledge.
3. Avoid exclusive reading of over-redundant texts: students need to practice judging for themselves whether guessing is or is not appropriate.
4. Acknowledge that word-analysis is a natural strategy, even though it can often be misleading: help students practice double-checking initial guesses of this sort with the context and other information sources such as the dictionary.
5. Provide practice in both guessing from context and word-level graphophonemic accuracy: the former builds flexibility while the latter develops more efficient access to word meaning in memory.

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The Organizational Patterns of Adult ESL Student Narratives:

Report of a Pilot Study

David P. Harris

Several years ago in an investigation of the linguistic competence of university-bound ESL writers, I had students in several classes watch a very brief (1:43 Min.) silent cartoon film and then devote half an hour to writing a short account of what happened in the film, with a concluding comment on what they took to be the meaning of the cinematic story. The film was entitled "Mr. Koumal Invents a Robot," this being one of a series of whimsical Czech cartoons about a sad-eyed Everymanlike character named Koumal who is constantly being frustrated by the trials and complexities of today's world.[1] Despite the brevity and whirlwind action of these films, they proved quite effective in eliciting narratives from ESL students on the intermediate and advanced levels.

Last summer as I was preparing a presentation on ESL writing problems to be presented to a workshop of high school English teachers, I got to wondering whether the Koumal compositions might be used to demonstrate the writers' language use as well as their usage. That is, could one find things to say about the organizational techniques the students had used in recounting the adventures of Mr. Koumal? At first I was skeptical, for, after all, a narrative composition based on a 1½-minute narrative film seemed to leave little opportunity for much variation. Events in the film had been presented in straightforward chronological order, and the students had dutifully endeavored to keep the same sequence. Yet as I compared compositions, it at once became clear that there were very decided organizational differences, some of the papers seeming most suitably constructed according to English rhetorical principles, while others struck me as organizationally inept. I was intrigued by the challenge which this analytical problem presented.

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[1] The Koumal films are distributed by SIM Productions Inc., Weston, Connecticut 06880 USA.

In recent years there has, to be sure, been a growing body of research dealing with the organization of prose and, in some cases, with its effects on student recall. Of special interest in terms of my problem were those models and analyses focussing on narrative, or story, discourse (e.g. Kintsch and Greene 1978, Mandler and Johnson 1977, Rumelhart 1977, and Thorndyke 1977). However, these studies appeared to have no direct application to the analysis of prose reconstructions of film events, while the most comprehensive investigation of film-based narratives reported to date, the Berkeley "pear film" studies (cf. Chafe 1980), concentrated on oral storytelling and, moreover, did not include any systematic procedures for analyzing and evaluating the organizational structure of the accounts. Thus I was left to my own devices.

My first step was to identify some compositions which seemed native-like in their organization and to determine what narrative points—that is, film events—those better organizers thought important to include in their compositions. I found that these were quite consistently five in number, to which was added the interpretative comment at the end. The six points were as follows:

1. As the film begins, we see Mr. Koumal doing his household chores, including polishing his shoes.
2. It occurs to Koumal that he could save himself some labor by inventing a simple shoe-polishing machine.
3. The machine proves highly effective, much to its inventor's delight.
4. Koumal then decides to devise a full-fledged robot to be his servant, and he is shown in the throes of planning and assembling his mechanical man.
5. However, when the robot is completed and is commanded to do Koumal's bidding, the inventor's dream turns to nightmare: the robot imperiously motions Koumal to polish its shoes, and at the fadeout we see our saddened hero following the commands of his servant-turned-master.
6. Interpretation of the story.

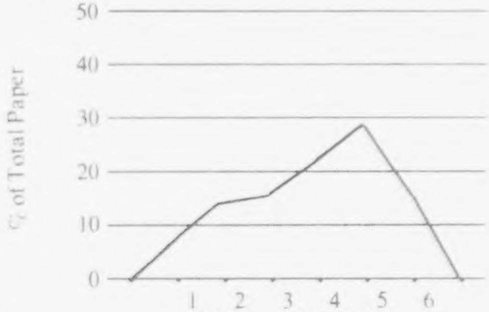
Comparing my selection of better organized papers with others that seemed less satisfactory, I found that the latter had very often omitted one or two of the six critical narrative points, making it difficult for the reader to fill in the gaps. But it soon became apparent that good organization depended on more than the inclusion and correct ordering of the six points, that is, the accuracy and adequacy of the coverage. There was also the matter of balance—the relative attention given to the several narrative points. In short, I found myself back with the traditional rhetorical triad: unity, coherence, and emphasis.

After experimenting with various procedures, I decided that the simplest way of determining emphasis would be adequate for my purposes: I counted the number of words devoted to each of the six points and converted these figures to the percent of the whole. To be sure, there were problems with this system, as, for instance, what to do about the omitted elements in the sentences of the less proficient writers (I decided to ignore them), but this quick and mechanical method seemed good enough for what was, after all, a pilot study.

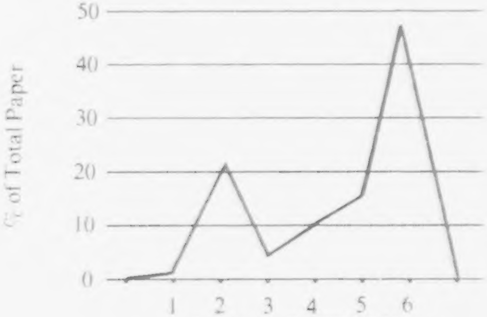
Having established my procedure for analyzing the structure of the compositions, I applied the analysis to a sample of 35 papers (56 percent of my corpus), selected to represent a broad range of students' home countries and English proficiency levels (low-intermediate to advanced). Then, by constructing a simple bar graph for each composition, drawing a bar to represent the percentage of the paper devoted to each of the six narrative points, I could represent the paper by an organizational curve—a kind of profile.

A comparison of the 35 profiles revealed that papers tended to follow three basic organizational patterns or to present variations thereof. These appear as the three patterns in Figure 1.[2]

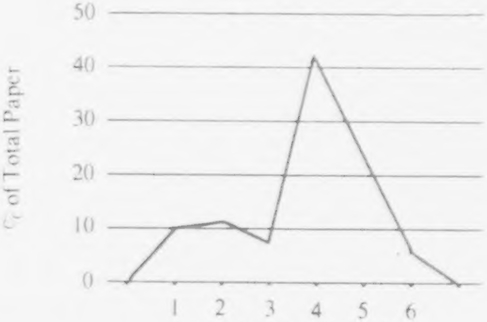
Figure 1: Major ESL Organizational Patterns



FIRST PATTERN



SECOND PATTERN



THIRD PATTERN

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[2] Each of the drawings is an exact composite of several actual composition profiles.

Pattern 1: The writer includes something on all six basic narrative points, the climax (greatest emphasis) being reached at point 5, Koumal's sad experience with his newly invented robot.

Pattern 2: The writer devotes most of his attention to the interpretation of the story (point 6), almost invariably omitting one or even two of the earlier narrative points in his haste to get to his discussion of the meaning of the film.

Pattern 3: The writer gives by far the most emphasis to the robot-inventing process—certainly an entertaining part of the film, but seemingly not so important thematically as the account of the effects of the invention.

Of the three patterns, the first impressed me as by far the most satisfying, and for the next steps of the study I assumed that compositions following Pattern 1 were exhibiting native-English-like organization.

It now seemed useful to get some idea of whether ability to follow Pattern 1 was strongly related to either the students' place of origin or their level of English proficiency. Of course, with a sample of only 35 papers, nothing conclusive could be determined, but one could hope at least to detect some tendencies.

I first gave each of the compositions a 1- to 3-point rating on the basis of how closely it conformed to Pattern 1—that is, included all six critical narrative points and reached a peak on point 5, Koumal's experience with his robot. (Distribution of ratings was: 1 (closest to Pattern 1) = 49%; 2 = 17%; 3 = 34%.) I then compared these compositional ratings with three criteria as follows:

1. Narrative ratings compared with writers' background countries. No strong connection was discovered. In slightly more than half the cases where comparisons could be made, compositions by students from a given country received organizational ratings from 1 to 3.
2. Narrative ratings compared with writers' general English proficiency levels. Here my criterion was the ESL class level to which the writers had been assigned on the basis of a standardized test battery. Again, no strong evidence of a connection was discovered. (For a rough idea of the correlation, I computed the phi coefficient: .19.)
3. Narrative ratings compared with general composition ratings. My criterion was the averaged holistic ratings (on a 4-point scale) which two experienced ESL teachers had given the compositions—ratings which certainly gave as much attention to grammar as to organization. Again, no strong evidence of a connection was discovered (phi coefficient: .20).

I am by no means ready to conclude that good organizational sense develops haphazardly. I suspect that the very inconclusive findings are largely attributable to the smallness of my sample and the crudity of the analytical procedure. All that can be said is that nothing in the comparisons stood out strongly.

So far in my study I had been proceeding on the basis of a pretty shaky assumption, namely, that Pattern 1 was, indeed, the one that native speakers of English—at least those who were competent writers—would regard as the most appropriate. I needed to verify this assumption.

For my first validation experiment, I used as my subjects tutors from our university's writing center. These tutors, who are mostly undergraduates, have been carefully selected and trained to work with other undergraduates who come to them voluntarily for help with their writing. Through the kindness of the director of the center, I was able to attend a meeting of 19 tutors and administer a simple experiment. I showed the group the Koumal film two times, asking them to take notes on points they would include in a narrative based on the film. I then handed out typed copies of 11 of the ESL student compositions, 4 of which followed Pattern 1, 3 each following Patterns 2 and 3, and the eleventh essentially following Pattern 1, but with variations. I asked the tutors simply to select the four or five compositions which they considered the best organized in terms of accuracy, adequacy, and balance.

Subsequent analysis of the ratings showed—somewhat to my surprise and most definitely to my relief—that, of the five compositions receiving the heaviest votes, four were the Pattern 1 compositions. The other composition which had most impressed the tutors was not the one following Pattern 1 with variations, but one organized according to Pattern 3. Inspection of this paper revealed that it was the longest of the 11 compositions (which I had been only moderately successful in matching by length).[3] The writer of this paper had, I could now see, dealt in enough detail with all six narrative points that a certain amount of imbalance, favoring point 4, was easily ignored.

This last finding naturally raised the question of whether there might be a general tendency to rate longer compositions more highly than short ones, with the better organizers on the whole writing longer compositions. My analysis, however, showed what many similar investigations have shown: that while there was some correspondence between length and quality, the correlation was only moderate. (Specifically, the rank-order correlation between tutors' ranking of the compositions and the number of words in the papers was .55.)

Incidentally, I found the tutors' discussion of their rating experience most interesting, particularly inasmuch as it appeared that they had had no training in working specifically with foreign students. There seemed to be general agreement that, even though I had emphasized in my instructions that papers should be rated on their organization and not on their grammar (I mentioned my findings that general English proficiency didn't appear to be highly related to organizational success on this task), it was difficult for the tutors not to be influenced by grammar and word choice.

The other interesting point that the tutors made was that they noticed the degree to which the ESL writers empathized with Mr. Koumal and made reference to his emotional states. Most American students, they felt, would have reported the actions more neutrally. (We shall return to this point later in the report.) As an example of how far the ESL students' subjective interpretation could take them, one of the writers, observing Koumal rubbing his aching back during his household labors, reported that shoeshining gave Koumal "a pain in the kidneys."

At the same time that I was having the writing center tutors evaluate a sample of

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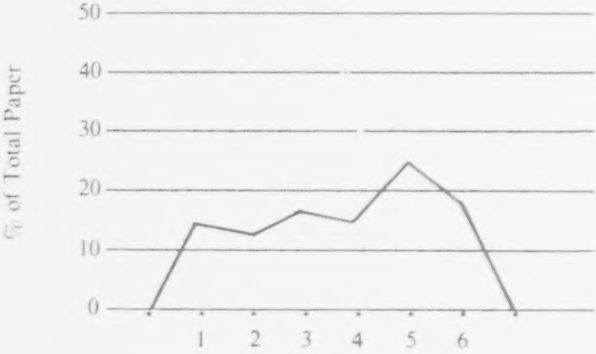
[3] The 11 compositions ranged between 144 and 261 words, with a mean of 200.

ESL compositions, I undertook another validation experiment by asking the graduate students and faculty members attending my seminar on writing to perform the same writing task that I had assigned the ESL students: I had them view the Koumal film twice and then devote half an hour to summarizing the film in writing, adding an interpretation at the end. As would be expected, these adult native speakers and highly advanced L2 speakers of English found it hard to play the game straight. Some wrote bedtime stories for young children; others seemed to be intentionally deviating from conventional narrative style in as many ways as they could. This, of course, is what highly competent writers can and do do in their native language. Yet a composite profile of twelve of the native-speaker compositions showed that it essentially matched the ESL students' Pattern 1. The native speakers' profile appears in Figure 2. The only real difference was that the native speakers had proportionately more to say on most of the early narrative points than had the foreign students.

Figure 2: L1 Organizational Pattern



I also asked the seminar students and faculty members to select the four or five best organized compositions from among the same 11 I had given the writing tutors. Adding their choices to those of the tutors did not change the previous results so far as the top-ranked compositions were concerned.

From the foregoing experiments I felt some confidence in concluding that compositions organized along the lines of Pattern 1 did tend to strike native speakers as the most appropriately structured.

Related to organizational structure but not directly a part of the foregoing analysis is the matter of narrative openers—the devices the students used in beginning their compositions. Half the ESL writers used the simplest strategy of describing the action as the film opens: "Mr. Koumal is brushing his shoes"; "Mr. Koumal was so tired with the work to shine his shoes." No preference was found between present and past tense.

The second most favored beginning, used by about 30 percent of the subjects, was to introduce the film character by attaching a label to him: "Mr. Koumal is/was a ---- (man)." Some of the labels referred to Koumal's most obvious physical characteristic, his rotundity, others to his intellectual powers ("wise," "intelligent"), and some to his probable profession ("engineer," "mechanician," "a scientist of talent"). Many of these labels were clearly speculations based on the writer's interpretation of subsequent events; thus the opening served a kind of foreshadowing function.

The third opening strategy, employed by 20 percent of the ESL writers in the sample, was to plunge directly into the heart of the film story, the writers either not bothering to set the scene at all or including both Koumal's motivation and his plans, all in the same introductory statement: "Mr. Koumal wanted to make a robot because he thought that with it, he can solve all the things mechanically"; "One day, tired of doing works by himself, Mr. Koumal thought that he could find a machine to work for him." In two of the seven papers with openings like this, the writers then backtracked and described the film action from beginning to end. But the other five writers who entered the story in the middle simply proceeded from there. Generally their compositions fit Pattern 2 described earlier.

Another interesting feature of the openers was the number of writers (17 percent) who either referred overtly to the narrative as a story or began their compositions with a conventional story-marking phrase: "One day" or "Once upon a time." Only one student of the 35 opened with a reference to a film.

With only a dozen native-speaker narratives to draw upon, one can scarcely make any generalizations about how L1 openers compare with L2. Yet the findings are at least interesting and quite possibly suggest what we might find with a larger sample. As with the ESL students, half the native speakers used the strategy of simply describing what was happening as the film began. There was no strong preference for either present or past tense. Another 25 percent of the subjects used the second strategy of opening by attaching a label to the film character: "physically fit," "inventive and industrious," "a small, rotund man with a big smile." In no instance, however, did a native speaker attempt to identify the character's profession as did several of the ESL writers.[4] The remaining 25 percent of native-speaker narrators combined both of the above strategies in their opening sentence: "Mr. Koumal, a rather chubby, stubby fellow, opens the film attempting to polish his shoes"; "Mr. Koumal, a young, overweight man, finds that he has problems shining his shoes." None of the native speakers began in the middle of the film story, as did a number of the ESL students.

Though only one of the 12 native speakers referred to the narrative as a story, three used the terms *film* or *cartoon*. It will be remembered that only one in 35 ESL writers made the latter kind of reference.[5]

To summarize the observations about narrative openers, we can say that about 75 percent of the ESL writers began their compositions in ways quite similar to those adopted by native speakers. The main differences between the two groups were (1) that some ESL students omitted the essential scene-setting elements, and (2) that some native speakers demonstrated the rather advanced strategy of describing both the film character and the opening action in the same sentence.

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[4] I am reminded here of Deborah Tannen's study of oral narratives in Greek and English (Tannen 1980). Tannen's Greek women subjects, in reporting what happened in a narrative film, showed a greater tendency than their American counterparts to interpret rather than simply report elements shown in the film. Interpretation included reporting as fact what was conjecture.

[5] This finding, too, runs parallel to Tannen's (1980), who reported that her American subjects were more inclined than the Greeks to adopt a film-critic stance. But the small size of our native-speaker sample prevents us from treating the Koumal data as anything more than suggestive.

What, then, are the implications of this analysis of narrative organization? Given the small sample and the very specialized nature of the writing assignment, one can scarcely generalize about the way ESL students tell stories. The results do, however, encourage me to believe that we can, with practice and experimentation, develop more effective ways to analyze organizational structures than are presently available, even for so seemingly restrictive a genre as the narrative.

But just as interesting, to my way of thinking, are the possible pedagogical applications of the procedures we have been considering. Film-based narratives are, I have come to think, a good way to introduce ESL instruction on organizational principles. The film provides a uniform stimulus for the writers, yet, as the Koumal experiment demonstrates, still allows considerable scope for individual variation. The narrative is very likely a familiar form to most of our ESL students, who should take comfort both in its homely familiarity and its straightforward chronological ordering. Yet what one learns about organizing narratives in English can be applied to other kinds of writing more relevant to our mature, academically oriented students. Many technical reports, for example, follow essentially a narrative pattern. But more than this, as shown in the Koumal analysis, the general rhetorical principles of unity, coherence, and emphasis apply just as surely to the *simple* narrative as to the *higher* forms of writing.

Class prewriting activities can include discussion of the event structure of the film and then of ways to translate this into effective narrative discourse structure (Cf. Brewer and Lichtenstein 1981). Working cooperatively, the class can propose a set of basic narrative points to be included in their compositions and suggest the relative emphasis which each should receive. The teacher can then graphically depict these suggestions on the blackboard as composition profiles of the kind developed in the Koumal study. Subsequently, finished compositions judged by the students as particularly well organized can be analyzed by the class through such profiles. And procedures developed as the class works in this way on the narrative could, it would seem, continue to be utilized from time to time as the group moves on to more complex written forms.

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Some Limitations in Teaching Composition

Sandra McKay

INTRODUCTION

The idea of *teaching* composition suggests that writing is a skill consisting of units which can be sequenced, presented, and tested in a formal instructional setting. Yet I would argue that writing is not just a skill, but also a way of perceiving, learning and developing. As Irmscher puts it, "writing is more than a frozen record of thinking. It is an action and a way of knowing" (1979:241). This way of knowing encompasses at least three complex activities: first, becoming aware of selected details in the environment; second, abstracting these details for analysis; and finally, imposing on them some type of order. It is because of these processes that, as Odell points out, even "apparently simple engaging writing tasks may entail rather complex conceptual activity" (1980:44).

Let us stop for a moment and analyze the conceptual strategies demanded by the following timed writing topic:

> Most people have one possession that is especially important to them. For example, some people may value their musical instruments because of the many hours they spend playing music on them. Other people may value a piece of jewelry because it belonged to a relative. Finally, others may value a photograph, a teapot, or a wall hanging because it reminds them of home.
>
> Think about a possession you have that is very important to you. Write a paper in which you: first describe it, and then explain why it is so important to you.
>
> In the first part, be so specific that readers will be able to visualize it. In the second part, provide sufficient examples so that a reader will be able to understand exactly why the object is valuable to you.

In order to write on this topic, writers first need to sort through the vast number of possessions that they have or have had and then to select one of these which is important. Writers must also define what they mean by importance, which could

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include everything from the object's commonality to its uniqueness, from its permanence to its transiency from its size to its shape.

The next problem would be to describe the object. Suppose, as many of my students did, you selected a photograph. How would you describe it? As an image reproduced on a 3 by 5 piece of photosensitive surface? Probably not. Yet in some instances, such as a science class, this type of description would be highly appropriate. Should the size of the photograph be mentioned? This depends on the individual's definition of importance. If size contributes to the significance of the photograph, then certainly it should be included. If it is rather the content of the photograph that is important, then the question is which elements of the picture itself should be described? Should the description include the stance, hair style, facial expression, and/or clothing of the individuals in the photograph? Any or all of these details might be relevant, but they are relevant only if they contribute to the significance of the item. In short, the description of the object requires a fine balancing between various aspects of the concrete object and the writer's definition of importance.

An additional complexity of the task rests in its rhetorical dimension. Since the description is for an audience, the writer may feel that certain objects are too personal or precious to detail to a relative stranger, such as a teacher. Thus, writers have to narrow the choice of object to one which they are willing to describe for a public audience. Finally, writers need to be able to express their sense of the topic within the many constraints imposed by the language itself. They must have the language available to describe the object in a precise and vivid manner. Hence, a relatively simple writing task can involve a variety of complex processes.

The point is that many of these processes are never addressed, nor can they be realistically addressed, in a classroom. The richness of the essay depends to a great extent on the ability of the writers to sort through their stored memory of possessions, to select and abstract one of these which has special significance, and to impose some type of order on its description. To write this essay or any other, an individual needs proficiency in many areas including among others, knowledge of the subject, awareness of the audience, an ability to select and organize relevant details, an ability to use appropriate language, and finally, an ability to assess the essay throughout the writing process. Some of these proficiencies can be developed in the classroom, while others have been or will be developed outside the classroom. The question is which aspects of the composing process are best viewed as components of formal training, and which elements are factors of general knowledge and experience acquired outside of the classroom. Let us begin with the writer's knowledge of the subject.

KNOWLEDGE OF THE SUBJECT

Flower and Hayes, in their cognitive process model of writing, depict the relationship between the writer's long-term memory and the writing process as an ongoing interactive one. They point out that "the problem with long-term memory is, first of all, getting things out of it—that is, finding the cue that will let you retrieve a network of useful knowledge. The second problem for a writer is usually recognizing or adapting that information to fit the demands of the rhetorical problem" (1981:371). What can we as composition teachers do to help students use and adapt the information that they have stored in the long-term memory?

First and foremost, we can allow students a great deal of choice in the selection of writing topics or, if we want to select only one topic, we should choose a topic about which the students are likely to have knowledge or experience. Therefore, topics which presuppose a great deal of specific knowledge about American culture or about a particular academic field with which the students are unfamiliar are best avoided. For example, an assignment which asks students to compare and contrast the educational system of their native country with that of the United States assumes that the students know a great deal about the American system of education. If they do not have this knowledge, they will have little or nothing to say.

If we choose to assign expository topics, we have two alternatives. Either we can design topics that the students already know a great deal about, or we can devote class time to helping students become familiar with the topic. The choice here, it seems to me, rests on the scope of the knowledge demanded. To adequately familiarize students with the various elements of the American educational system would necessitate a great deal of reading and discussion. On the other hand, to provide students with information about a fairly limited topic, such as the procedures for registering at a particular university, could be dealt with in a relatively short period of time. In other words, there are limitations as to how much time should be devoted to increasing students' general knowledge so as to provide writing topics. Most of our students come to us with a storehouse of information. What we need to do is to design topics which will draw on this information.

If, on the other hand, we choose to assign personal topics, we will still need to help our students recall these experiences. Heuristic devices, brainstorming, journal writing are all ways of doing this. For example, in order to help students write on a personal topic such as an important possession, we could do such things as ask students to describe, in their journals, the experiences they have had that they associate with this object, or we could have them bring the object to class and then share these experiences with their classmates. But there are limits as to what we can do to help students draw on their own personal experiences for writing topics. For example, with the topic of personal possessions, the value that individual students place on objects, and the richness of the personal experiences they associate with these objects are entirely beyond our control. Thus, even if we select topics of a personal nature, although we can help students recall their experiences, the breadth of these experiences will always be beyond our control.

AWARENESS OF THE AUDIENCE

Proficient writers are also aware of their audience. Learning to manipulate one's verbal and nonverbal repertoire in order to obtain a desired result is an ongoing process in which some people ultimately achieve much greater skill than others. The ability to shift one's register for an audience to achieve a specific result undoubtedly varies on an individual basis in all cultures. However, which elements of an exchange will affect the desired response are often culture specific. Take, for example, a business letter. In the United States, an effective business letter gets to the point quickly and directly. However, in other cultures such a tack may seem brusque and offensive. If writing topics are designed so as to imagine or, in fact, have an audience other than the teacher, class time could and should be devoted to helping students become aware of this particular audience's expectations. Thus, for example, students need to be taught what the typical United States' businessperson expects in a business letter. When the audience for the students' papers is the teacher, we should make it clear to the students what we expect to find in the essay. We may, for example, have very specific expectations as to the topic and development of the essay, expectations which should be clearly specified in the assignment.

One device to help students become aware of their audience is that set forth by Pfister and Petrick (1980:214). They suggest that before students begin to write they consider questions such as the following.

> What is the audience like? What is their socioeconomic status, their educational and cultural experience, their values?
> What does the audience know about the topic? What is their opinion on the topic? How strong is this opinion?
> What is my relationship with this audience? Do they know me well? Do they share my values? Why is this topic appropriate for this audience?
> What is my purpose in addressing this audience? What role should I assume for this audience?
> What are the best methods for achieving my goals in terms of organization, tone, diction, etc.?

Such heuristic devices help to provide the students with important information about their audience, information which they can then draw on throughout the writing process.

There are limits, however, as to what we can teach our students about their audience. It may be that our students are in academic fields in which we personally are not aware of the typical expectations of the audience in terms of such things as the usual format of the papers and the assumed background knowledge of the readers. Or, it may be that our students are in such varied fields that we will not have the time to deal with the expectations of their professional audiences. Thus, although we can encourage them to be aware of the fact that their audience may have particular expectations, we may not be able to give them specific information on such things as what type of organization, tone or diction will be most effective for their audience.

SELECTING AND ORGANIZING DETAILS

Meeting the expectations of a particular audience depends to a great extent on the writer's selection and organizing of pertinent details. The selection of these details often reflects what Perl (1980:365) terms the writer's "felt-sense" of the topic. However, writers are unlikely to have this felt sense unless they have had some experience with the topic. If, for example, a writing topic involves the legalization of marijuana or the injustices of the United States' court system, topics with which the writers have had little or no experience, it is unlikely they will have any sense of the topic. Therefore, they will find it extremely difficult to elaborate on the topic with relevant details. As one of my students put it, "writing an essay was not very difficult if I had enough information and ideas."

If, however, the topic is of great interest to the writers and is one on which they have a great deal of information, they are still faced with the problem of selecting and organizing the details they have. Many composition classes follow the procedure of providing students with an organizational plan. Yet on many levels this approach is counterproductive for as Flower and Hayes point out, "planning is not a unitary stage, but a distinctive thinking process which writers use over and over again during composing" (1981:375). If, in a composition class, students are presented with a format for organizing, they will not become conversant with the most important skill of all, namely the ability to sort through their own knowledge and experience and then to select and organize the information which is most relevant to their desired goals. Outside the classroom individuals often organize information in accordance with their goals. They may need to rank priorities in their personal life or to compare the merits of a particular consumer item. Ultimately, it is the problem that dictates which details are relevant and how they should be approached.

What can we do to help students learn how to organize information to achieve a desired result? One thing we can do is to make them aware of various methods of organization and show them how the same information could be organized in several ways. For example, we might take similar information on a specific topic such as the early development of the American railroad and write one text using chronological development and another using cause and effect. Next, we could have students identify the cohesive devices which differentiate the two plans of development. Finally, we could ask students to decide which plan they believe would be more effective if, for example, the author wanted to demonstrate the influence of American business on the development of the railroad. It is important, however, that students see the connection between such exercises and their own writing. One way to assure this is to be available throughout the writing process, helping students to clarify their intentions and select the method of development that will best suit their intentions.

But there are limits to what we can do. Proficient writers have learned how to achieve a match between what they have to say and how they say it, based on their assessment of their audience and their goals. How do they learn this? Quite typically, they learn this by continuing to write and critically analyze their own work. For some of our students, writing has been and may continue to be something they do not enjoy doing. For these students, many of whom may have developed a negative attitude toward writing, we may not be able to encourage them to become sufficiently involved in the writing process so that they will learn to consciously select their method of development to achieve their writing goals.

ABILITY TO USE APPROPRIATE LANGUAGE

Proficient writers are able to express their sense of a topic within the limitations imposed by the medium of language. There are, of course, many ways in which a composition class, particularly an ESL class, can develop accuracy and fluency in the language. On a grammatical level, students can be presented with regularities about the language, their errors can be pointed out and their work revised. There are already many texts to aid us with these important aspects of teaching composition, but I am sure we have all had students who write completely accurate papers, yet we would not consider them proficient writers. Why not? Part of this feeling may be caused by the students' obvious lack of knowledge or experience with the topic, but part of it may be because they have limited their expression of the topic to what they are certain will be a correct use of the language. Often unskilled writers are excessively concerned with avoiding errors. Zamel, for example, found that while the least skilled writer in her study "was determined not to commit errors and therefore attended to them prematurely, the more skilled writers devised strategies that allowed them to pursue the development of their ideas without being side tracked by lexical and syntactic difficulties." (1983:175).

There are many things that we can do in helping our students to use appropriate language. First of all, we can decide which errors we will correct and which we will overlook. This decision should be based on such things as the extent to which the error impedes comprehensibility, the proficiency level and goals of the students, and perhaps, most importantly, on the students' own attitude toward making errors. If students are overly concerned with avoiding errors, our best approach with these students may be to give minimal attention to errors, devoting most of our comments to helping them develop their ideas.

We can also decide when to correct errors. A premature concern with errors will focus our students' attention on form before they have had an opportunity to fully explore the topic. Sommers, in her research on teachers' responses to writing, found that teachers' comments can often take students' attention away from their own purposes in writing and instead focus their attention on pleasing the teacher. She maintains that "this appropriation of the text by the teacher happens particularly when teachers identify errors in usage, diction and style in a first draft and ask students to correct these errors when they revise; such comments give the student an impression of the importance of these errors that is all out of proportion to how they should view these errors in this point in the process" (1982:150). As Sommers points out, it makes little sense to ask students to correct errors in sentences or paragraphs which in the process of revising may be entirely deleted from the text.

There are, however, limits to what we can do in helping students to use appropriate language. We will never be able to anticipate all the errors that our students will make. Errors in word choice will most likely continue to continue to exist on even a very advanced level. Take, for example, the choice of words in the following excerpt from a student's paper in which he describes his desire to try riding a motorcycle.

> I wanted to know what it was like riding a bike on a raceway. One day, this destination was fulfilled.

It is highly unlikely that we would be able to anticipate this error and thus, instruct students in the appropriate use of *destination* before they use it. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether or not most students would be able to remedy this error themselves. Zamel, for example, in her work with advanced ESL students found that "only two students were able to make decisions about the appropriateness of complex words they found in dictionaries, decisions that rested on their ability to understand word connotations" (1983:175). But there are several things we can do after the student has used an item inappropriately. We could indicate that the student selected the wrong form of the word and let him make the revision. Or, we could cross out the word and replace it with a more common choice such as *wish* or *desire*. Finally, we could use the opportunity to explain some of the differences between *destination* and *destiny*, and between a *wish* and a *destiny*. It seems to me that the last alternative is by far the best since it provides the student with the most feedback. If in our explanation we also supply the student with examples of common uses of the word, destination, in the future this student can base his use of this word on a clear understanding of what effect this choice will have on his audience.

SELF EVALUATION

Finally, proficient writers are able to evaluate the quality of their own work. And, as Taylor (1981:11) points out, students eventually need "to learn to be their own critics and to be able to revise without extensive outside input." In a recent study, Miller (1982:176–83) investigated what criteria professional writers and students use in evaluating their own writing. One thing she found was that while almost all students thought their good writing was writing that the teacher liked, only 30% of the professional writers based the success of their writing on a positive response from their readers. Professional writers, in contrast to students, often based the evaluations of their work on whether or not the finished product matched their own intention of what they had set out to do and on whether or not they learned anything in the process of writing it. Unfortunately, both of these criteria were rarely mentioned by student writers.

If these criteria of self evaluation are important in the development of proficient writers, and I believe they are, one thing we should do in the classroom is to encourage students to judge their own writing on such standards as whether or not they have learned anything from writing it, rather than on whether or not the teacher liked it. One thing we might do is ask students to provide us with a written evaluation of what they learned from the process of writing the paper. Beaven, for example, suggests that students evaluate their own papers by answering questions such as the following (1977:143).

1. How much time did you spend on this paper?
2. (After the first evaluation) What did you try to improve, or experiment with, on this paper? How successful were you? If you have questions about what you were trying to do, what are they?
3. What are the strengths of your paper? Place a squiggly line beside those passages you feel are very good.
4. What are the weaknesses, if any, of your paper? Place an X beside passages you would like your teacher to correct or revise. Place an X over any punctuation, spelling, usage, etc., where you need help or clarification.
5. What one thing will you do to improve your next piece of writing? Or what kind of experimentation in writing would you like to try? If you would like some information related to what you want to do, write down your questions.
6. (Optional) What grade would you give yourself on this composition? Justify it.

If we do ask students to assign a grade to the paper, we might have them share this grade with us only after we have had a chance to read and evaluate their paper. In conferences we could then compare how we each arrived at our separate evaluation of the paper.

There are limits, however, in the degree to which we will be able to encourage self evaluation. It may be that our students, who are accustomed in their other academic fields and in the educational system, in general, to accept and expect external evaluation, will find it difficult to critically approach their own writing. Furthermore, if the students' primary goal is to please the teacher so that they can achieve a high grade, self evaluation will have value only to the extent that we place a value on it ourselves. Thus, it is important that we strive to encourage self evaluation and help our students to become self-reliant writers. For as Roger maintains in his discussion of the learning process, "it is when the individual has to take the responsibility for deciding what criteria are important to him, what goals he has been trying to achieve, and the extent to which he has achieved those goals, that he truly learns to take responsibility for himself and his directions" (1969:142–3).

CONCLUSION

Clearly, there are many things we can do to help our students become proficient writers. But it is important to recognize that there are limits to what we can do. We are limited, due to time and the personal experience and background of our students, in the degree to which we can provide them with knowledge about the writing topic. There are also limits to our own information about the expectations of particular audiences which our students may need to address. Furthermore, with some students, we may never be able to involve them sufficiently in the writing process so that they learn to consciously select methods of development to suit their intentions. Finally, there are limits to the degree to which we can encourage our students to value self evaluation, if in other contexts it is not valued. These limitations, however, should not discourage us in our endeavors to teach composition. Rather they should help us clarify what we can do in compositions classes so that we will devote our attention to these things.

Composing, like other artistic endeavors, is a way of knowing, developing and creating. Like art instructors, we are limited in what we can teach our students. We too can encourage our students to carefully observe their environment; we can show them techniques to create a particular effect; we can help them to examine and enjoy the work of other writers; and finally, we can urge them to be the final judge of the success of their work. But, ultimately, it is individual writers, like individual artists, who must use this background, along with their own sense of the task, to create.

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In Search of the Key: Research and Practice in Composition

Vivian Zamel

There is a Sufi story that goes something like this:

> A neighbor finds the sage on his hands and knees searching the ground.
> "What have you lost, oh wise one?" the neighbor asks.
> "My key," answers the sage. And the neighbor gets down on hands and knees to help.
> "Where did you drop it?" the neighbor asks after a few minutes of searching.
> "At home," answers the sage.
> "Then why, for heaven's sake, are you looking here?" asks the neighbor.
> The sage answers, "The light is better here."

This tale is a metaphor for the type of research and pedagogy that for a long time predominated in native language composition. Researchers and teachers felt more comfortable looking for answers in the bright light of experimental conditions where written products could be analyzed, results measured and tabulated, and methods of instruction compared and then prescribed. However, to go back to our tale, if the key is elsewhere, bright light is not going to help us find it. And it is this recognition that has resulted in the current interest in the composing process and the behaviors that this process involves. Researchers and teachers are recognizing that examining product alone tells us very little about what underlies the product, in much the same way that language performance may reveal little about competence. They realize that if we are to have some impact on the product, on the performance, we must inform ourselves about what preceded it. And while this has meant searching for answers in not quite so bright a light as previous traditional research designs, at least these researchers are beginning to feel that they are coming closer to finding, if not the key, then certainly some clues about what writing entails and, hence, what the teaching of writing should involve.

This investigation into what Maxine Hairston (1982:84) calls the "intangible process" has revealed the complexity of writing behavior. Composing has been

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found to be non-linear, recursive, and convoluted (see, for example, Emig 1971, Perl 1980b, Rose 1980, Sommers 1980). It seems that writing cannot necessarily be broken down into neat categories such as pre-writing, writing, and rewriting, for revision and invention have been observed to occur throughout the act of composing. And because writers do not necessarily know what they are going to say before they begin to write, composing is the means whereby they discover their ideas.

With attempts to investigate the composing process have come studies that have examined the writing behaviors of skilled and unskilled writers. Researchers have worked under the assumption that by studying what proficient writers do, we will have a basis upon which not only to evaluate the appropriateness of our classroom methods but also to develop instructional approaches that will better meet the needs of those who are less proficient. Interestingly enough, this is the same assumption that underlies much recent work in second language acquisition. Descriptions of good and poor language learning strategies (Stern 1980), published introspective journals describing language learning experiences (Bailey 1980, Schumann 1980), studies of language learning in the classroom and in natural settings (Krashen 1982, d'Anglejan 1978), and first-hand interviews with language learners (Stevick 1981) are all attempts to discover how learners learn so that we may then determine how teachers should teach.

Case studies, based by and large on the analysis of "think aloud" protocols of skilled and unskilled writers[1] have revealed that skilled writers review what they have already written in order to move forward, that the act of evaluating one's writing leads to discovery (see, for example, Flower and Hayes 1981, Perl 1980a and 1980b, Pianko 1979, Sommers 1980). Furthermore, as experienced and proficient writers reconsider what they have already written, they conceptualize the effect of their draft as a whole, and are therefore less concerned and distracted by surface-level features of writing. If necessary, these writers then modify or rewrite their drafts because they understand that this strategy will help them more closely approximate meaning. In contrast to these writers, unskilled and inexperienced writers are less aware of the cyclical and exploratory nature of composing and do not employ the holistic strategies of more skilled writers. While they do reread before continuing to write, they pause more often to do so and are far more concerned with local problems that arise.

While findings of process-centered studies and their implications for the classroom dominate the current literature on the teaching of writing in L1,[2] research into the composing processes of ESL students is almost negligible. We are, however, beginning to recognize the importance of this line of research. Jacobs (1982), in her comparative study of the written work of eleven university students, five of whom spoke English as a second language, was able to observe these students while they composed and interview them about the difficulties they were experiencing. Her data indicate that composing constraints may have more to do with students' ability to compose essays than difficulties with the mechanics of language. She found, for example, that the complexity of the assignment and the students' own misconceptions about how to meet the requirements of the assignment may be more problematical than linguistic background. Edelsky's (1982) recent study of the first and second language writing of nine bilingual children also suggests that composing constraints, and not primarily language, influence what second language learners produce on paper. Her comparison of L1 and L2 writing supports the notion that writing involves the "orchestration" of multiple sub-systems which produce a text and that writing in a first language means being able to "juggle and mesh" these systems (1982:214), a point that has been made by native language writing theorists like Flower and Hayes (1981) and Smith (1982). In accordance with such a view, it is hypothesized that what writers already know about the writing process from the first language—about, for example, strategies for planning a text, situational demands, audience considerations, the "shuttling back-and-forth movements" that Perl (1980b:369) has observed in writers—"is applied to rather than interferes with writing in another language" (Edelsky 1982:214). Similarly, Lay's (1982) investigation of the composing processes of ESL adult learners, a case study that was based on an analysis of "think aloud" protocols and interviews with six Chinese college students, indicates that "many of the composing strategies used by native language students—rereading topics, going back and forth in a text, re-evaluating organization, asking questions, changing vocabulary, the different levels of editing—are also present in second language learners" (1982:406). Like Edelsky, her findings suggest that language in and of itself is not to be viewed as problematical. She points out, for example, that the students that she observed "translated key words into the first language to get a stronger impression and association of ideas for the essays" (1982:406). And the more translations there were into the native language, the better the essays were found to be in terms of overall organization and presentation of ideas. Furthermore, like Jacobs (1982), Lay pointed to the constraints of the task itself and how they may influence composing strategies, for certain topics induced more native language translations than others. Jones (1981, 1982a, 1982b) has likewise provided us with insight into the writing behaviors of ESL students. In one study, in which seven ESL students were videotaped while they composed aloud, Jones (1982b) found that ESL students, like their native language counterparts, had problems with the process itself, as was suggested by Jacobs' (1982) work. In another study, Jones (1981) videotaped nine ESL students as they each wrote three essays. He adopted Krashen's (1982) framework of the monitor model to pinpoint and analyze the differences between the writing behaviors of a monitor underuser, one who seldom monitors, even when the opportunity to do so exists, and a monitor over-user, one who is overly concerned with rules and correctness. Clearly neither one of these writers seemed to demonstrate the composing behaviors of more experienced or skilled writers, behaviors that seem to indicate optimal monitor use. The over-user was determined to formulate ideas and pause frequently to polish the text at the same time, while the under-user wrote more extensive pieces of text but attended to little more than surface-level revisions. Moreover, this study again pointed to the influence of discourse type on composing behaviors, for the personal essays required less planning time than the other writing tasks. In yet a third study, Jones (1982a) observed the writing processes of a good and poor ESL writer as each composed aloud in order to discover why poor writers may leave out rhetorical information that good writers include. He found that the poor writer was "much more constrained by the actual text she had created" (1982a:4) and was less able to distance herself from it. The good writer, on the other hand, was able to evaluate her ideas with reference to large writing goals. Thus, while the poor writer had a harder time at the local level, struggling with one sentence at a time, the good writer was concerned more with meeting the needs of the overall text and postponed editing in order not to interrupt the process of generating ideas. Jones hypothesizes that the problems of the poor writer stem not from language difficulties but from the fact that she doesn't have "efficient strategies for writing," for she never learned to compose (1982a:8) and thus echoes some of the conclusions of the L2 composing studies cited thus far.

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[1] Questions have been raised about the extent to which verbalizing aloud is similar to silent composing. For discussions of the problems inherent in this particular research technique, see Cooper and Holzman 1983, Faigley and Witte 1981, Voss 1983.

[2] For a more systematic review of these studies, see Zamel 1982.

Finally, my own investigations (Zamel 1982 and 1983) into the composing processes of ESL students, the first based on the self-reports and written work of eight proficient ESL writers, the second based primarily on the observation of six advanced ESL students while they composed, indicate that skilled ESL writers experience writing as an exploratory and generative process, revising their papers, recording new ideas, and shifting directions throughout the process. These students seemed to interact with and react to their texts, creating meaning while assessing it at the same time. While the changes that occurred at first were global, it was toward the end of the process, after a series of drafts, that surface-level features of writing were primarily attended to. Thus, although there were language-related difficulties, these difficulties did not seem to interrupt the flow of the ongoing process; these writers had devised strategies that allowed them to pursue the development of their ideas without being sidetracked by lexical and syntactic problems. In contrast to these writers, the least skilled ESL writers seemed to have a very different understanding of what composing entailed. Like Jones' unskilled writer, they paused often and between short chunks of discourse, prematurely attending to local concerns of usage and expression and rarely making changes that affected meaning. they acted as if writing were a static transcription of parts rather than the creation of a whole discourse. They did not seem to understand that composing required the reevaluation and revision of one's ideas and produced, instead, second and third drafts that were basically neater copies of their first ones.

In sum, research into second language composing processes seems to corroborate much of what we have learned from research in first language writing. Of course, much further research into second language composing processes is necessary to determine the extent to which these findings are generalized. We need to explore the notion that writing strategies and behaviors are universal and applied across languages, as has recently been observed by Widdowson (1983), by observing students compose in both languages and then comparing their L1 and L2 writing. We need to find out if a minimum level of language competence is required before students are able to view writing in a second language as a "process of discovering meaning" (Zamel 1982). But let us return to our research to date. Composing in a second language has been found to be an extremely complex undertaking, but it seems that this complexity has more to do with the constraints imposed by the writing task itself than with linguistic difficulties.[3] While ESL students must certainly deal with concerns that are linguistic-specific, it seems that it is their writing strategies and behaviors and not primarily language proficiency that determine composing skill. Thus, like inexperienced or basic native language writers, unskilled ESL writers seem to have a very limited and limiting notion of what composing involves, and skilled ESL writers, like good native language writers, seem to be aware of the various dimensions and demands of composing and how and when to attend to these demands.

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[3] It is interesting to note that this finding, with specific reference to writing, reinforces our growing recognition of the effects of discourse constraints on second language acquisition. For an overview of recent research in second language acquisition see Larsen-Freeman (1981).

How then do these findings translate into classroom practices? Students must be given the opportunity to experience and work through the process of composing. They need to be given to understand that writers do not necessarily know beforehand what they will say, that composing, as Berthoff (1980) puts it, is the making of meaning out of chaos. The composition classroom, rather than concerning itself only with learning to write, should be a place where students are writing to learn (see, for example, Emig 1977, Irmscher 1979, Knoblauch and Brannon 1983). Once students become convinced that discovery takes place while composing, that the act of writing itself may generate thoughts and ideas, they may come to view writing as a meaningful and important undertaking. But how is it that we as writing teachers of ESL students can promote this understanding? How can we convince our students that writing is purposeful?

First of all, we can begin to question whether our more traditional approaches will lead our students toward these goals: Will practice with outlining, thesis sentences, and topic sentences encourage students to explore their thoughts on paper, or will they lock students into rigid formulaic frameworks that may produce organized but entirely predictable and vapid essays? Will models that students are given to analyze and imitate provide these students with the experience of forming and reforming their ideas again and again until what they really want to say is finally expressed? Is assigning tasks that are worked on at home, (perhaps in one sitting the night before the paper is due), and then collecting and grading them going to promote in students either the understanding that one draft is not enough or that the teacher's comments may represent the reactions of other readers as well? What notion of writing does attending primarily to grammar and usage transmit to the students? To what extent are students likely to take risks in their writing, to elaborate upon ideas that are meaningful to them, if they are by and large reinforced to play it safe and follow certain prescriptive rules?

The answers to these questions are obvious. So let us return to the original question: What can we as teachers do? For one thing, our students must be given time to do multi-draft assignments so that each draft brings them closer to approximating what they want to say. Thus, the process they are working through is a repeated and ongoing effort. As we respond to these drafts, we should attend to the ideas expressed and formulate questions and comments that help students reconsider the logic and clarity of their ideas. And these questions and comments, if they are to enable students to go beyond their first attempts must be instructional. Rather than directing a student to "Be more specific" or asking "What do you mean?", one should indicate explicitly the kind of information that would help clarify, elaborate or explicate the writer's meaning. These responses are by their very nature difficult to illustrate since they connect with and refer to a specific text.

Teachers, however, should not be the students' only readers. Classroom time should be given over to workshop-type collaborative activities in which students comment and raise questions about each other's writing. This type of dialogue can be modeled or structured by the teacher by providing students with a set of questions that they should consider as they respond to student writing, questions that at first ask for easily arrived at holistic responses but that eventually ask for more precise responses (Harris 1978). Or perhaps the class as a whole can read pieces of writing and formulate together the kinds of questions that they believe writers should address. Students can also compare their own paragraph by paragraph summaries of their writing with the summaries written by other students in the classroom. The comparison of their comments and those of the other readers then becomes the basis for the next construction of the paper. Berthoff (1981), Johnson (1983) and Raimes (1983) recommend that students be encouraged to work together to consider what one can anticipate as one moves from one piece of discourse to the next. Ponsot and Deen (1982) suggest that students listen to each other's writing after which they write down their observations. They indicate that because listening is more immediate, direct and entertaining, it helps students pay attention and at the same time better establishes a community of writers. The observations students are encouraged to make are descriptive, rather than judgmental or subjective, and because these observations are written down, students are given yet another opportunity to practice writing.

Activities such as these help develop in the students the ability to comment about ideas in writing, an ability that is then applied to their own writing (see Brannon et al. 1982 and Ponsot and Deen 1982 for accounts of how students learned to write by internalizing their readers' reactions). Furthermore, these activities promote an understanding of one of the important constraints of the act of composing, the needs of the reader/audience, for it is through activities of this sort that writers become more and more aware of the effects their writing has upon a reader. And "the more the writer is exposed to this kind of feedback, the better able he is to begin building some generalizations about the future audiences he will write for" (Harris 1978:45).

A sense of audience, however, can be established at the outset as well, since the information included in a piece of writing, the direction it will go in, the assumptions it will work upon, even the type of language it will use is determined to some extent by the needs of one's readers. Thus, assignments can build into them the audience for which the writing is intended. Flower believes that it is this sense of audience that helps writers improve, and she thus underlines the importance of replacing vague assignments with "vivid, realistic assignments centered around a clearly defined *real* reader" (1981b:67). Her writing text (1981a) consists of "rhetorical problems" which students attempt to solve by addressing a particular reader. A *case method* approach, which likewise stipulates a hypothetical reader, is another way in which audience can be established. Unlike most writing assignments that fail to provide the student with a sense of purpose or context, cases, because they attempt to create true-to-life situations which require a response to a particular reader, are more like writing in the real world. Cases thus have the "power of authenticity . . . and can provoke inquiry and discussion by their very nature as open-ended writing problems faced by real people" (Weiss 1980:136–137). As students consider the data presented and analyze these problem-centered situations, they learn to develop strategies that will help them transform the data into texts that "meet the informational needs of a specific audience" (Berkenkotter 1981:396). And the extent to which audience constraints influence writing can further be illustrated by directing students to work on the same case but to address more than one possible reader, each of whom has different concerns and therefore requires a different response.[4]

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[4] For a more detailed description of case methods, see Tedlock 1981. For texts based on this approach to the teaching of writing, see Field and Weiss (1979) and Teclock and Jarvie (1981).

In addition to in-class workshops in which writing is discussed, class time should be given over to actual writing. For example, by allowing students to engage in free writing, that is, writing non-stop for a predetermined period of time in order to "release thoughts and images into visible language" (Ponsot and Deen 1982:35), we may help them realize that ideas are suggested by the writing itself, that writing without pause to examine and judge can lead to the exploration of different possibilities. Having students write freely about, perhaps, the reading that had been assigned and how it is related to a topic that had already been discussed in class, or about the issues brought up during a class debate or other focused discussion, demonstrates to students that writing in and of itself is a heuristic. And because free-writing is not evaluated against the criteria applied to more formal assignments, it encourages students to take risks and to experiment. It is this kind of writing that may first produce, as it sometimes does with my students, statements about having nothing to say but that, half-way down the page, results in the articulation of kernel ideas. Teachers of course can also participate in this in-class writing so that they can both become more sensitive to the writing experiences of their students and share with them the products of their explorations, products that are likely to be rough and disorganized but within which the seeds of the next draft can be found.

In the same way that free-writing may help students find what Perl (1980a:31) calls a "wedge" into a topic or idea, journals can promote an exploration of one's experiences and observations. Journal writing serves to involve students in writing in which they can concentrate on what they have to say without worrying about how to say it and thus both reduces anxiety and often produces some of their best and most original writing. It also gives teachers the opportunity to respond to ideas and content rather than form and mechanics, a practice which I and other ESL teachers I have spoken with find freeing, even exhilarating. Responding to student journals in this way can even take the form of teacher journals through which teachers not only react to their students but reveal their own thoughts, ideas, observations, a technique that has been used successfully in ESL classrooms (Spack and Sadow 1983). The journal thus sets up a real, communicative dialogue and in a natural and obvious way reinforces the notion that writing is the making of reading. Furthermore, journal entries can be used as points of departure for assignments which build upon them. For example, a personal experience can become the narrative portion of a longer essay whose goal it is to make inferences or generalizations about this experience.

Journals, however, need not be confined to the recording of subjective or expressive writing alone. Rather, they are "places where you can generate and think through ideas for paper topics, work out a problem presented in class, log experiences that are a part of a course, record thoughts and insights that you think might be useful, but are not exactly sure how" (Maimon et al. 1981:20). Journals allow students to test out hypotheses, create their own perspectives or make new connections with reference to the course content. And by doing so, their teachers may discover underlying problems to which they can then respond, which in turn facilitates further writing/learning:

> The concern is to create intellectual dialogue as a way of stimulating more learning, to use writing as a means of . . . communicating the honest extent of the writer's understanding, including difficulties, inadequacies of insight, imperfect or unproductive connections among ideas and information, so that

> a more experienced learner can provide, through reinforcing commentary, some new directions for exploration (Knoblauch and Brannon 1983:471).

Journals can also be used in much the same way that commonplace books were once used, a place where students can summarize or react to their reading. These summaries or commentaries can then be incorporated into later, more complex writing tasks. For example, journal entries that summarize differing arguments surrounding a controversial issue can be discussed with reference to each other in a later piece of writing. Sequencing writing in this way helps students work through the assimilation and synthesizing skills that are at the heart of most academically oriented essays. Furthermore, in the process of turning their private journal writing into public expository prose, students would gain insight into how writer-based prose differs from reader-based prose, to use Flower's (1979) terms. And by asking students to read their journals, not only write in them, the journal becomes defined as a text itself and thus validates journal writing as a method for ordering, representing and interpreting one's experiences and perceptions (Bartholomae 1982:36-37).

Other writing assignments can likewise be used to build upon one another. Thus, students can be directed to use previously written work as the basis for a comparison paper, for example. In addition to having something to say, students learn how the same phenomena can be viewed from a different perspective, and that this shift in perspective establishes new and critical relationships. I recently had students read, discuss and write about several of Studs Terkel's (1972) interviews. They then did their own interviews and recorded the information they obtained and formed generalizations about them. As a final writing task students determined the extent to which their own findings compared with those of Terkel. Such a series of assignments produced writing that was rich and original. It helped demonstrate the evolving nature of composing, not only with reference to the particular task at hand, but with reference to the entire sequence of tasks. It allowed students to actually experience the process of comparing data. And it helped students understand that how one chooses to view the world determines how one organizes it.

Students also have to be taught that the different sub-processes of composing should not be attended to all at once. While some skilled writers may be able to juggle the different writing demands and constraints at the same time, correcting grammar and punctuation while still exploring ideas, inexperienced or beginning writing students may need to learn that certain aspects of writing should be addressed before others and that a premature focus on correctness may prevent exploration. This is especially the case in the ESL classroom where students are still acquiring language and where a concern with form and convention may precede or entirely ignore the issue of a writer's intention. ESL students, like other writing students, need to be encouraged to explore their ideas and thoughts first and foremost and need to be provided with feedback that indicates that this is in fact the most important feature of writing. They should be given to understand that attention to correctness is a sub-task that can be relegated to the final part of the process. Again, this understanding can only be promoted if our feedback and instruction reinforce this notion. Sommers (1982) recently pointed out that even when we want more comprehensive revisions, students conceive of revision as chiefly the altering or improving of surface-level features because our comments seem to underline the importance of these features. A typical comment begins with the vague

"You have some good ideas but . . ." and is then followed by an unwieldy list of rules and the ways in which the student failed to use them. How likely is the comment about ideas to be taken seriously?

Surely our experiences have shown us that a concern with correctness at the outset may lead to less error-ridden revisions, but revisions that show basically little improvement. Nor do these corrected revisions guarantee that these very errors will not appear in future papers. Furthermore, an obsession with error and mechanics may ultimately lead to serious writing blocks. It seems then that a more appropriate procedure would be to not focus on these features of writing until the students are engaged by the writing, until students have experienced the process of clarifying thought, until students grasp the notion that writing can help make sense of their experiences. As Rose recently put it, "Error vigilance creates safe, not meaningful prose. We have to allow our writers to be ambitious and to err" (1983:128). Furthermore, since revision may mean that what has already been written may be reconstructed or even omitted, concentrating on local problems at first is not only inappropriate but may even be detrimental, a point illustrated by several case studies (see, for example, Newkirk 1981, Rose 1980, Sommers 1981) and underlined by Miller: "Treating one's writing as a product to be judged while it remains open to the possibility of revision may prevent completion or at least make improvement impossible" (1982:181). It is at the end of the process, when ideas are being refined and polished, that a concern with correctness is warranted. It is at this point, when, as Elbow (1973:17) has put it, "You end up thinking something you couldn't have started out thinking," that the critical eye and the editing should come into play. It is in this way that students may come to be, to use Krashen's (1978) term, "optimum monitor users," employing the monitor to control output, but not letting it obstruct the flow of discourse.

These are just some of the ways in which we can involve our students in the composing process and thereby better prepare them to become independent writers. Before concluding, however, I should like to underline one of the most important dimensions of this instructional approach: involving students in the experience of working through the composing process provides teachers with information about the strategies, rules, and patterns that students apply in their writing. We can find out, for example, that writing may suffer because students pause too often, those frequent interruptions keeping them from viewing their writing holistically, as was discovered by one teacher who observed an ESL student trying to write:

> It was only when I watched him write that I realized how much his determination to spell correctly was hindering his writing. A sophisticated user of his native language, he would not permit himself to commit gross errors in English spelling. Because of this he paused so long on the task of spelling certain words that when he moved on, he had lost the flow of the sentence. The next mental formulation of what he would write did not join smoothly with what he had written previously, nor could he easily recapture the original sentence by rereading what he had written (Harris 1982:65).

We may find that they are blocked because they have no strategies for exploration. With reference to local errors, we may find out, as I did from the students I observed, that the errors are not due to carelessness, but the result of very deliberate attempts to make the language conform to some system. For example, one student omitted the "s" on a second verb because she had already used the inflection on the first verb and thought it was not necessary to add another one. We may find that misspellings occur even after students have looked up words in the dictionary, these students obviously not aware that dictionaries can be used to check both word form and word meaning. This does not mean that we should all undertake painstaking and time-consuming observational studies. But we can observe students writing as we circulate in class, helping them individually, pointing out inconsistencies, raising questions about both global and local problems. We can ask students, as Bartholomae (1980) did in his study of error, to read their papers to us aloud so that we can determine which errors are performance-based rather than problems of general linguistic competence. I recently observed a class in which a student was reading his argument to a small group of students. Every time he came to the word which he had written as "is," he read it aloud as "in," and every time he came to the word which he had written as "in," he read it aloud as "is." While, at the time, I could not immediately determine the cause for such a strange phenomenon, upon reflection it could very well have been the case that this student was experiencing the kinds of perceptual problems that Laurence (1976) and Bartholomae (1980) have observed with reference to their own writing students. By proceeding in this way, by intervening throughout the process to discover what students can and cannot do, we learn how to better instruct them. This is in fact what language acquisition theorists have proposed with reference to language teaching, that it is what students already know and what they still need to learn that should determine our syllabus and form the basis of our instruction (see, for example, Corder 1967 and Brumfit 1979). It is their own "communicative attempts in the target language" that should be the "starting-off point of our instruction" (Taylor 1983:84). It is the "things which will reveal themselves" if an attempt is made "to discover what students do know" that suggest what should be taught (Larsen-Freeman 1981:121). A process approach provides us with valuable information about our students' knowledge and needs and better insures, to return again to Krashen's (1978) terminology, that teacher input and student intake are more closely aligned.

All of this does not suggest that we have all the answers. Far from it. We are still groping in the dark, searching for them. But to return to our metaphor, it is reassuring to believe that if we look long enough and hard enough, we are likely to find the key.

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From Communicative Competence to Cultural Competence

Harry Krasnick

The growth of interest in teaching culture within the context of English as a second language (ESL) instruction can be seen as evidence that our basic view of language itself is in the process of change. So far, however, the development of a coherent conceptual framework for the teaching of culture in ESL does not seem to have kept pace with the production of culture-oriented materials. This article highlights some background issues, discusses the concept of cultural competence as it relates to communicative competence, comments on some examples of available teaching materials, and suggests some directions which the development of cultural competence as a major goal in teaching ESL might take.

CONTEXTS OF CULTURE LEARNING

There are a variety of purposes for learning ESL, some of which may be satisfied by the acquisition of linguistic competence or communicative competence (Paulston 1974). But when interaction with native speakers of English is the goal, culture learning must accompany language learning. A number of factors make culture learning more complex than language learning.

Every discussion of culture learning must begin with the broader features of the societal context. In Canada, to take one example, the government has adopted an official policy of bilingualism and multiculturalism, seeking to promote a pluralistic society (Burnet 1975, Findlay 1975, Peter 1981). Canada's program of support for all ethnocultural groups which desire to maintain their identity is expressed in the metaphor of the cultural mosaic. This has, however, greatly complicated the questions of what it means to "Canadianize" or "integrate" newcomers (Beck 1975). At the same time, it has been shown that the position of various groups in Canadian society is far from equal, both with respect to power (Porter 1965) and in terms of social status (Berry, Kalin and Taylor 1977). A structural analysis of the sociocul-

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tural context of culture learning is suggested by Ogbu (1978), a Nigerian anthropologist, who has offered a tripartite typology of minority groups. What he calls *autonomous minorities* may be numerically smaller than the dominant group but are not subordinate economically or politically. "Members of autonomous minorities do not necessarily regard the majority group as their reference group, nor do they necessarily want to be assimilated" (1978:23). *Immigrant minorities*, as strangers, "operate outside the beliefs of an established system of social hierarchy and are not deeply affected by the ideology of superiority and inferiority that supports such a hierarchy" (24). Ogbu's third type, which he calls *caste minorities*, are regarded by the dominant group as "inherently inferior in all respects" (23). They are restricted to certain types of work, and "the least desirable roles they are forced to play are generally used to demonstrate that they are naturally suited for their low position in society" (23). While Ogbu's study was aimed at explaining the low academic achievement of minority groups in a number of different societies, there is at least one clear implication for culture learning in ESL: specifically, learners may be members of groups which occupy structurally different positions in society, resulting in relationships to the dominant group and its culture which may vary significantly.

Inter-relationships between the learner's culture or social group and the target culture are thought to be a powerful factor in second language learning (Alptekin 1981, Brown 1980, Genesee, Rogers, and Holobow 1983, Schumann 1975, 1976a, 1976b). At the psychological level, the target culture's view of the learner's culture can affect the learner's view of his or her own culture (Hall and Freedle 1975, Indra 1979, Kelly 1978, Skinner and Hendricks 1979, Wong-Rieger 1980). At the same time, one group's view of another group may be a reflection of its view of itself. Basso (1979), an anthropologist who studied Apaches living in Arizona, concluded that the variety of images of the dominant culture found among Apache groups was due to the fact that their "models of the Whiteman are consistently formulated in relation to corresponding models of the Indian" (1979:4-5).

The individual's membership in an ethnocultural group can be viewed in terms of his or her psychological self-identification with the group (Wsevolod 1981). However, others may impose a different, inappropriate membership on the individual (Beck 1975, Skinner and Hendricks 1979). This may conflict with the individual's own personal cultural identity or national origin. For instance, in Canada Sikhs may be classified as Hindus, Fijians as East Indians, and East Indians as Pakistanis. "Inappropriate reference grouping" by others obviously can affect intercultural communication in an adverse manner (Condon and Yousef 1975:7-10 and Khleif 1979). To further complicate matters, the learner may have overlapping or multiple cultural identities as well (Giles and Johnson 1981).

Race is yet another basis for social classification which may operate in culture learning. Though biological traits are clearly the foundation of racial classification systems, such systems are essentially social in nature (Ogbu 1978) and operate on a contamination theory, by which the presence of a non-white component may serve as the definitive trait in the eyes of the dominant group (for example, a child with one white and one black parent is considered non-white, not white-and-black or white-black).

Subcultural variation also exists within ethnocultural categories and is based on such factors as social class, religion, regional differences, rural-urban differences, and so on. As with race and ethnocultural membership, as discussed above, labels applied by others may reveal far more about their particular classification systems than about the categories of membership which are meaningful to the people being described (see, for example, Skinner and Hendricks 1979). In addition, not only is the status of women often lower than that of men, but there are also considerable intracultural differences between men and women. Such differences may be greater in other places than they are in North America.

A second factor which tends to make culture learning a complex phenomenon is that cultural rules, in contradistinction to linguistic rules, are often vague and framed only in terms of preferences. This holds true for the basic values in a culture (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961) as well as for conversational rules (Gumperz 1980, 1982a, Gumperz and Herasimchuk 1975, Sacks and Schegloff 1979). For example, Gumperz states that "at the level of conversation, there are always many possible alternative interpretations, many more than exist at the level of sentence grammar" (1982a:159). Not only are the rules themselves often quite general, but applying them in particular situations can be somewhat problematic:

> The general rules or policies are norms whose meaning in emergent (constructed) action scenes must be negotiated by the actor (Cicourel 1973:29).

As a consequence,

> . . . when we actually observe everyday social activities we find that the members of our society do not, in fact, find it easy to agree on what is right and wrong, moral and immoral, in concrete situations (J. Douglas 1970b:15).

As sociologists have shown, the interpretation of behavior in everyday life, including deviation from sociocultural rules, is a very complex phenomenon (see, for example, J. Douglas 1970a).

Yet another general factor which renders culture learning complex is that, while the purpose of including a cultural component in teaching ESL is to facilitate students' interaction in English with members of one or more speech communities (that is, cultural groups), it is not always easy to identify a homogeneous target group or culture. Specifying the target community and its culture may be comparatively easy in the case of, for example, immigrants learning ESL in New Zealand, but it may be virtually impossible in societies where English is spoken both as a first language by some groups and as an additional language by others, or where English serves as a lingua franca. Though it is inevitable that the learner will perceive the teacher as a model of one cultural group or another (Jaramillo 1973, Wolfgang 1979), the group to which the teacher belongs may not necessarily be the primary group with whom the learner intends/wishes to interact. Smith's suggestion is an interesting one.

> In situations where the students are not sure where they will be using their English and have no overriding interest in any particular country, the emphasis could be placed on ways to learn about different cultures and developing a greater tolerance for differences in cultures (1978:11).

In light of the increasing use of English in intercultural and international communication in education and business, it could be argued that this approach is suitable for all ESL learners, as further discussed below.

CULTURE, COMMUNICATION, AND COMPETENCE

Culture means different things to different people. Some think of it as *good* music or *serious* drama. Others may equate culture with civilization itself, or with high social status. Most ESL students, however, have little need or desire to know how the rich manage to maintain the social distinctions between themselves and the less fortunate. Students are usually more interested in *everyday* culture. It is worth noting that this definition implies interpersonal interaction, whereas merely appreciating what some would call *the better things in life* may not. Few ESL teachers today would refer to treatises on etiquette for guidance, but the notion of culture as *worthwhile pursuits* may still persist for a time.

Another view, often found in travel books, sees culture as consisting of the history, geography, government, and interesting customs of a country. A recent intermediate level ESL/EFL textbook aimed at helping students acquire "cultural awareness and reading skills" (Kitao, Broderick, Fujiwara, Inoue, Kitao, Miyamoto, and Sackett 1983) seems to be based on this view. Nearly all of its twenty chapters are devoted to such topics as famous American cities, unusual geological formations, food customs and recipes, Anglo-American Christian practices, and popular entertainment. In contrast, only a few of the chapters treat ESL students' daily interactional needs: bus transportation (two chapters), foreign students on campus, and bilingual education. There is no objection to selecting materials which are likely to prove interesting to students, of course, but relevance is an issue.

A non-rigorous conception of culture learning ideas may result in problems for students. Two examples from books designed specifically to acquaint foreign visitors with American culture will suffice to illustrate this point: ". . . the United States is, in fact, markedly segmented into neighborhoods, residential areas, and ghettos; *right and wrong* sides of town" (Lanier 1978:27, emphasis added); "'Used to be a real *good, solid, middle-class* neighborhood. But it's changing . . .'" (Johnson 1979:3, emphasis added). This kind of moral stigmatization and categorization of people into good and bad, respectable and disrespectable (see J. Douglas 1970b and Ball 1970), is particularly lamentable because ESL learners are often members of groups likely to be so stigmatized by the dominant group.

An approach to culture which is useful in understanding interpersonal interaction and culture learning is contained in the definition offered by the anthropologist Ward Goodenough: ". . . a society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members . . ." (cited in Hudson 1980:74). The emphasis is on *interactional competence*, not just *general knowledge* about the target culture. For instance, taking group decision-making in North America as an example, cultural or interactional competence would refer to behavioral skills in decision-making, rather than to information about how decisions are reached in North America.

It is important to differentiate between this view and the concept of communicative competence, which is often treated as knowledge of what is conventional and what is situationally appropriate (see, for example, Holmes and Brown 1976, Hymes 1974, Paulston 1974). Teachers are likely to see the practical value of this kind of competence, but usually only in terms of the learner's ability to avoid offending or upsetting others. Such an emphasis has been called the "contrastive Emily Post approach to language teaching" (Paulston and Bruder 1976:59). However, if ESL students are to be able to interact appropriately with members of the target culture, this type of knowledge is not enough. As the sociologist Hugh Mehan has pointed out, the concept of communicative competence based on the sociolinguistic approach is only competence for speaking, not competence for social interaction:

> There is more to interaction than the production of sentences or utterances that are grammatically correct and socially appropriate on a particular occasion. Most notably, there is an interpretive as well as a productive aspect of interaction. Interaction involves the interpretation of the speech behavior and other behavior of people and the interpretation of setting features of social activities, including normative role statements (1979:132).

Another sociologist, Matthew Speier, has made a similar observation:

> . . . talk is not merely sentence production, it is social exchange and social coordination. Talk is interactional. Instead of a model of language use and of a language user, we need to develop a model of interaction and of the use of interactional abilities (1973:59).

The underlying view is that language-use competence is at once *both cultural and interactional:*

> Coming to an understanding of interactional competence . . . necessitates treating culture as intersubjective praxis (that is, human productive and comprehension practices) instead of either a subjective state or an objective thing. On the one hand, this means describing what people do with their cultural knowledge, how they use what they know about social structure, norms, and other people in ongoing social situations, encounters, and events. On the other hand, it means describing the active modes of human production and construction, the concrete observable *work* of people that assembles orderly social entities (Mehan 1979:130).

In other words, cultural competence refers to "the competence necessary for effective interaction" (ibid.). This approach to language and language-use competence is now beginning to be articulated in ESL (see, for example, Richards 1980), and is supported by the following three perspectives.

First, it should be acknowledged that the role of verbal language in human communication has been overemphasized (M. Douglas 1975). The bulk of what is communicated in interpersonal communication is non-linguistic in nature (Condon and Yousef 1975, Widdowson 1978, Wolfgang 1979). In real life, linguistic and non-linguistic communication are inseparably interwoven:

> We alternate channels and mix sensory effects like expert technicians; we execute delicate bodily maneuvers and choreograph our gestures with the rhythmic grace of dancers; we change roles, put on and take off masks, and stage our continuous performances like the most gifted of actors (Montagu and Matson 1979:xi).

It is clear that non-verbal communicative competence is culturally determined and, in fact, as one anthropologist has asserted, culture-specific: ". . . there can be no such thing as natural behavior. Every kind of action carries the imprint of learning . . ." (Mauss, cited in M. Douglas 1973:93). Occasionally non-verbal communication is included within the concept of communicative competence in ESL (see, for example, Canale and Swain 1980), but on the whole there has been comparatively little recognition of the fundamental integration of communication modes.

Second, the referential function of language continues to be greatly emphasized, the contribution of speech act theory notwithstanding. Long ago Dewey spoke of language as "fundamentally and primarily a social instrument" (cited in Seelye 1974:13), and Malinowski called it "a mode of action, and not an instrument of reflection" (cited in Hudson 1980:109). All language, as Alfred Schutz (1972:130) noted, is for some purpose, that is, it has what he called an "in-order-to" motive. Stevick (1976:128) takes the same view, defining language as "purposeful behavior between people, intertwined with other kinds of purposive behavior between the same people." This competence in everyday language use entails mastery of all kinds of complex and subtle cultural meanings. One example of what is involved in the concept of language as social action is what Goffman called "impression management":

> . . . in everyday life it is usually possible for the performer to create intentionally almost any kind of false impression without putting himself in the indefensible position of having told a clear-cut lie. Communication techniques such as innuendo, strategic ambiguity, and crucial omissions allow the misinformer to profit from lies without, technically, telling any (1959:62).

Few ESL learners will achieve equal mastery to native speakers in this area, but the point is that realistic goals for students cannot be set without adequately conceptualizing what competence in using language in everyday settings comprises.

A third perspective which supports the view of competence in language use as cultural or interactional competence is the theory of language as the basis of social reality. The subjective approach in sociology is based on the observation that "social categories are seen as part of the outside world, along with physical surroundings, artifacts, beliefs, etc." (Gumperz 1971:222). Everyday social reality is composed of what Berger and Luckmann (1967) call "the common objectivations of everyday life," which are maintained primarily through language. "Everyday life is, above all, life with and by means of the language I share with my fellowmen" (Berger and Luckmann 1967:37). Members of the society stand in an interactive relationship with their creations, and at the heart of this ongoing activity is language:

> Language is both the principal means whereby individuals externalize themselves into the objectivations that make up society and the means whereby society talks back to these individuals shaping them to its intentions (Lemert 1979:154).

Cicourel (1973) has developed a model of sociocultural competence based on an analogy to competence in language use. He sees the members of a society as having

> . . . a sense of social structure competence necessary for tackling the performance that includes the everyday usage of a particular language and world view. Actual performance means the transformation of verbal and nonverbal materials into constructions whereby members programme each other's unfolding action (1973:71).

By way of comparison with the language-and-thought hypothesis of Sapir and Whorf, the view of language as constitutive of everyday social reality may be called the language-and-society hypothesis.

Although these propositions pertain to everyday life, they are not part of the taken-for-granted world of the everyday actor, who is generally content to rely on his commonsense stock of knowledge, typifications, and recipes. The culture learner is neither social scientist nor native member of the culture. What, then, should be his or her perspective? The culture learner may be seen to be in the same position as the language learner. The latter strives to attain the competence of the native speaker, who is not aware of the nature of her or his own competence, with the assistance of the linguist's and the teacher's insights and systematic analyses. The learner's competence eventually may turn out to be superior in some respects to the native speaker's, and inferior in others. Foreign students studying sociology in North America are in an analogous situation. While their experiential background in North American social life is limited, native-born North Americans may have little in the way of a systematic perspective on their own society or culture. As a culture-learner, the ESL student needs a systematic presentation of the major values and norms that govern everyday life.

MATERIALS

Literature continues to be a well-regarded source of insight into culture by some though its usefulness does not go unquestioned, as the following statement indicates:

> The quarrel is not with the value of literature or art as a means to illustrate how the foreign people live, but rather with the restrictive inroad fiction offers as the major source of information. Since many language teachers feel uncomfortable dealing with concepts and data of the social sciences, they tend to rely too heavily on literature to teach culture. Consequently, the common dual descriptor *literature and culture* has itself become suspect: It too often means a little culture and a lot of literature (Seelye 1974:15).

The cultural content in literature is not likely to be presented systematically or explicitly. With respect to the textbook mentioned earlier, the authors state:

> Girls in colonial America made samplers to practice different needlework stitches. A sampler is a decorative piece of embroidery often containing letters or verse. We named this textbook *An American Sampler* because we hope you will enjoy sampling readings about various aspects of culture and life in the United States (Kitao et al. 1983:4).

No connection is made between the content of the various chapters, nor is the content related to any underlying continuity or theme. Though it is true that the "grammar of culture" has yet to be written (Keesing 1974:78), inventories of the major value and belief systems of North American culture do exist (for example, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961, Stewart 1972); in turn such studies make possible a systematic approach to the topic.

An ESL textbook which does focus on cultural norms and values and on intercultural communication is *Beyond Language: Intercultural Communication for*

English as a Second Language (Levine and Adelman 1982). It has much to recommend it as a textbook (see Krasnick 1983) and has quickly become a popular choice, no doubt due in large part to widespread agreement with the authors' view that "programs that are solely language-oriented cannot fully assist foreign and immigrant students to understand and adapt to important cultural differences of the host country" (Levine and Adelman 1982:xi). What is more relevant, however, for the present discussion is the authors' approach to presenting cultural materials:

> Although the ESL classroom lends itself to the integration of language instruction and intercultural learning, there often is only a random exposure to culture in the classroom. This text has been designed to permit a systematic and graded presentation of language and culture (ibid.).

The cultural information itself is oriented to the needs of individuals learning how to operate in a new culture; some of the exercises are adapted from intercultural training methods (see, for example, Weeks, Pedersen, and Brislin 1977, Pusch 1979). An added value of the comparative and systematic approach to culture and communication taken in this book and in the field of intercultural communication generally is that it is a simple matter to incorporate relevant data from other sources (such as the studies presented in Erickson and Shultz 1982, and Gumperz 1982b).

The ESL teacher is likely to be a native member of the culture but, like the native speaker, may not have a self-conscious awareness of her or his own knowledge. Every teacher intending to deal with cultural competence as part of the ESL curriculum should become acquainted with the salient dimensions of culture that pertain to subjective experience and especially to communication. Two sources in this area are Condon and Yousef's *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (1975) and Stewart's *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1972). Condon and Yousef emphasize communication in interpersonal encounters, and take an experientially-oriented approach. Stewart offers a relatively abstract systematic treatment of American values and thought patterns, but makes extensive use of cross-cultural comparisons, which helps the reader to appreciate the distinctiveness of American culture and the reality of cross-cultural differences. Taken together, these two books offer what is probably the best currently available introduction to the aspects of North American culture which are relevant to the acquisition of cultural and interactional competence in ESL.

It is also possible to glean insights into the culture-language relationship from other types of sources, such as Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) study of metaphor. Metaphor is most often considered as part of the craft of the rhetorician; few would see it as having much to do with cultural competence other than as a type of idiomatic usage. But Lakoff and Johnson argue that the basic conceptual system of our culture is essentially metaphorical in nature, and that the fundamental metaphors have their origin in our physical and cultural experience. The metaphor of ideas as food is a striking example:

> What he said *left a bad taste in my mouth*. All this paper has in it are *raw facts, half-baked ideas, and warmed-over theories*. There are too many facts here for me to *digest* them all. I just can't *swallow* that claim. That argument *smells fishy*. Let me *stew* over that for a while. Now there's a theory that you can really *sink your teeth into*. We need to let that idea *percolate* for a while. That's *food*

> *for thought*. He's a *voracious* reader. We don't need to *spoon-feed* our students. He *devoured* that book. Let's let that idea *simmer on the back burner* for a while. This is the *meaty* part of the paper. Let that idea *jell* for a while. That idea has been *fermenting* for years (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:46–47, emphasis in the original).

The authors believe that the important values in a culture will be coherent with the metaphorical structure of the most fundamental concepts in the culture. This relationship between metaphor and concept can be taken as an example of the linguistic constitution of social reality, as discussed above. Such insights and data can surely enrich the present ESL curriculum, and they show that the connection between language learning and cultural competence need not be obscure or elusive. The key is the recognition that our everyday knowledge does have patterns which can be learned by an outsider.

TEACHER'S ORIENTATION

It has been suggested that the average teacher may not have much insight into her or his own culture and is ethnocentric in approaching other cultures (Alptekin 1981, Bancroft 1975, Jacobson 1971, Marks and Heffernan-Cabrera 1977). Though there is no suggestion that ESL teachers are any worse in this regard than other teachers, it should be recognized that teaching cultural material does pose a challenge: emotional investment may be high, the subject matter is often outside awareness, and there is real potential for misunderstanding in intercultural communication (see Condon and Yousef 1975, Gumperz 1982b, and Erickson and Shultz 1982). Moreover, in a pluralistic or multicultural society the teacher's own culture may not represent the target behavior in the same way that his or her English does.

With an appropriate cultural orientation, most learning activities can take on a cultural dimension or aspect. Contact activities in the community offer obvious opportunities for developing cultural and interactional competence in addition to communicative (that is, sociolinguistic) competence. In the classroom, activities such as role-playing (see Donahue and Parsons 1982) and socio-drama (see Scarcella 1978) are highly suitable for acquiring cultural competence, as are real-life materials such as newspapers (Blatchford 1973). Values clarification exercises, developed originally for native speakers, can be adapted for use with ESL students (Green 1975), as can most intercultural training methods. One particular method offering great potential is the culture assimilator, an effective and convenient way of teaching individuals to make culturally appropriate interpretations or attributions of the meaning of others' behavior (Brislin 1981:101–105). Culture assimilators have been developed for Americans preparing to take up posts in a number of different foreign countries, and for individuals needing to learn about the culture of white people or of disadvantaged people within the United States. However, development of culture assimilators does require considerable effort, and although a workshop on the use of culture assimilators was held at the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii in 1983, so far no culture assimilator for ESL has been published.

Whatever method is used, the teacher's attitude toward the relevance of cultural competence is critical. In second language teaching we have witnessed a move from linguistic competence to sociolinguistic or communicative competence as the goal of instruction, and now there is a growing awareness that communicative competence should be conceived as *intercultural* communicative competence (see Baxter, 1983). These conceptual developments are being consolidated and put into practice, but the basic concept is still that of sociolinguistic and nonverbal communicative competence, though oriented toward communication in multicultural environments. What remains to be formulated and applied is a broad concept of *intercultural interactional competence*, including knowledge of basic values and norms; verbal and nonverbal interactional competence in using English in intercultural communication; competence in using language as social action; and competence in creating and interpreting linguistic aspects of social reality.

A substantial shift in how language-use competence is viewed is implied. One cannot expect to alter one's basic orientation to language itself overnight, but it must eventually be done, because full participation in social relationships does require more than just proper sociolinguistic etiquette. As McLeod (1976:217) says, "teaching language only will leave the students social cripples." The emergence of English as the chief medium of international communication suggests that teaching intercultural interactional competence in English may well be among the most significant undertakings of the future.

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Do You Have the Key?

Patrick E. Buckheister
John F. Fanselow

A: Do you have the Key?
B: Yes.

If you stare at these communications for a while, several questions may come to mind, one of which will surely be, "What key?" However, on the occasion that these communications occurred, this question did not enter the minds of the two people involved. A and B, the participants in this interaction, were speeding toward a destination to which A thought B had the key. B, on the other hand, thought A had been asking about the key to the building from which they had departed earlier. Both had ample time to understand that they had been referring to different keys as they made an extra trip back to fetch the key they lacked on their first trip.

We call this type of communication a *miss*, in contrast to a *hit*. If A and B had been thinking of the same key it is probable that a hit would have occurred, eliminating the need for the extra trip. Misses, like hits, occur daily, both in and out of classrooms: "Oh, I thought you meant". . . , "I said blue, not new," "Oh, I thought you said 22 not 32," "You should've turned back there."

Since the key incident occurred, we have been looking at *solicits*—demands, requests, or questions requiring a response—in order to see ways we *narrow* the choice of possible response in classrooms and outside of classrooms. *Narrowing* in solicits refers to the inclusion of components which set criteria or establish categories for the subsequent response, thereby narrowing response possibilities. In this article we will describe some ways people narrow response choices in solicits made outside the classroom and the frequency of their occurrence in 35 classes which we observed: 8 adult ESL, 11 high school science, 6 high school social studies, and 10 elementary school social studies. Transcripts from these four class types were available from four different sources at the time of this study, having been previously prepared for other studies. The ESL transcripts were made from video tapes taken in eight

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different classes. All other transcripts were made from audio tapes, again each coming from a different class. The use of existing transcripts allowed more time to be devoted to coding and describing a wider variety of class types and a larger number of classes than would have been otherwise possible.

The purpose of our description is to make teachers aware of the phenomenon of narrowing and to consider the use of narrowing in ESL teaching. A further goal is to explore how the proportion of hits and misses changes with the employment of different narrowing components. Our aim is not to say what proportion of narrowing components should be used. Following work by Gage (1972) and Rosenshine (1971), we have come to believe that teacher *shoulds* are difficult to discover.

Before we discuss narrowing components, it should be pointed out that "Do you have the key?" is different from typical classroom solicits in two ways. First, as it is a "yes/no" question it is rare in many classrooms, as Bellack, Hyman, Smith, and Kliebard (1966), among others, have shown. In the 35 classes we studied, "yes/no" questions occurred only 192 times out of the 3502 solicits which were recorded. "Do you have the key?" is also different from most classroom questions because the person asking it did not know the answer beforehand. This is also a rare situation, occurring only 79 times for the 3502 solicits in our study. This finding does show accord with Hoetker and Ahlbrand's (1969) review of classroom studies which shows that in general teachers solicit responses containing known facts more than any other type of response. By not containing a component that narrows the choice of possible responses, however, "Do you have the key?" is similar to most of the solicits examined in this study and in a previous study by Fanselow (1977).

The *narrowing characteristics* we have looked for may be looked upon as clues or cues within the solicit which do one of five things: (1) pertain to the space, shape, or size of the expected response, (2) compare or contrast the expected response to something, (3) assign a label to the expected response, (4) mention attributes of the expected response, or (5) set acceptability standards for the expected response. They are called, respectively, *space-shape-size characteristics, differentiation characteristics, label characteristics, attribute characteristics,* and *acceptability characteristics.* Since these narrowing characteristics occurred in less than 15 percent of the 3502 solicits from the 35 classes studied, we went outside the classroom to look for an environment in which they all occurred frequently. The device we discovered, which serves as a framework for the following discussion, was the crossword puzzle. Like classrooms, they contain many solicits to which the writers know the answers, yet crossword puzzles include at least one and often several narrowing characteristics for each task set (e.g., name of *ancient Egyptian* ruler, *four letters*). The comparison of a crossword puzzle to a classroom is furthered by the fact that in both cases parties involved in setting the tasks (the teacher and the puzzle writer) and parties involved in responding (students and puzzle fans) have an intense interest in hits, or desirable responses, and misses.

Space-shape-size Characteristics

The most eye-catching narrowing characteristic in crossword puzzles, even from across the room, is the clue given by the boxes, which could be classed as a *space-shape-size characteristic.* Three boxes across definitely tell the person responding that the answer cannot be *r-e-f-r-i-g-e-r-a-t-o-r.* Examples of this type of narrowing characteristic in classroom solicits we studied are:

Student: White plastic . . . brush tooth
Teacher: (*makes a switching motion by crossing one arm over the other*)
Student: White plastic toothbrush
Student: Massachusetts, New Jersey, Delaware
Teacher: No, no, no. Delaware is in yellow. *Above* New Jersey, a *little* letter C, there's a *little piece* of land—what is it?
Student: Connecticut.

Some classroom participants may use other mediums of communication to indicate a space-shape-size characteristic, such as using a pointer, counting on the fingers, or writing with colored chalk. Yet crossword puzzles, which are for many people a language learning experience, use this type of clue in every solicit, whereas we have only seen 271 uses of these space-shape-size characteristics in the 3502 solicits recorded, and 94 of these occurred in one particular classroom. Unlike the crossword puzzle writers, we may be looking at language as the only destination while at the same time seeing it as the only route.

Differentiation Characteristics

A second type of narrowing characteristic that a crossword puzzle demonstrates is found in items such as this:

Across
1. Rhymes with "mine"

This and other indications of similarity and differences we call *differentiation characteristics*. In daily communications we have observed recently, differentiation characteristics appeared in the following solicits:

Do you have the *same type* of cat food you sold me last week?
I'm late. Find me a pair of socks *that match*.
This *isn't like* the show we have in Muncie, is it?

Smith (1975) attributes much of early concept development in children to the process of grouping together by similarity and discriminating on the basis of differences. Teachers comparing solicits communications with those that occurred last week, or comparing communications of one person to those of another would be using differentiation characteristics. However, our 35 classrooms showed that differentiation characteristics had a very low frequency of occurrence among the solicits that took place there—31 times out of 3502.

Label Characteristics

A third type of narrowing characteristic which crossword puzzles show us is that of *labels*. *Common noun, mechanical conveyance, citrus fruit*, all are examples of labels that are found in the task of doing a crossword puzzle. Children also label from an early age, talking of "mommysock" (Bloom and Lahey, 1978) at first and working on to "these are mine and don't touch them" later. In the 35 classrooms we looked at, an abundance of labels were used—the *teacher's* desk, *vowels* and *consonants, endocrine* glands, and so on. However, like other narrowing characteristics, label characteristics were only rarely used in solicits. They occurred mainly in the extended discourse of the teacher, in student responses, and in teacher comments about those responses. Label characteristics occurred in the 3502 solicits only 39 times.

Attribute Characteristics

Indicating attributes of the thing talked about is the fourth type of narrowing characteristic inherent in a crossword puzzle. *Enjoyable summer* activity, *divisible by two*, *strong* cloth, and so on are examples of *attribute characteristics*, which allow us to classify and eliminate possibilities, thereby narrowing the choice of response. We use this category in this study as a catchall for narrowing characteristics which do not clearly fit into any other category. Of the 112 attribute characteristics occurring in the 3502 solicits studied, the following are some examples:

> Teacher: Does anyone know what substance you use in the kitchen *that's made mostly of acetic acid*?
> Student: Vinegar.
> Teacher: But we *ordinarily* say . . .
> Student: Boots.
> Teacher: Yes, Edward, it will be hotter close to the equator. And how about the southern part, *with fewer palm trees and coconuts*?
> Student: Cool.

As with differentiation and label characteristics, attribute characteristics occurring in a teacher's classroom solicits will usually increase the linguistic length of the solicits. (Space-shape-size characteristics are a notable exception here, often occurring in non-linguistic mediums.) Yet, the addition of an attribute characteristic, such as *divisible by two* to a solicit involving a number as a response, has the potential of cutting the possible responses in half or even further. In this particular case all odd numbers are ruled out.

Acceptability Characteristics

The fifth way that a narrowing characteristic is demonstrated when responding to a crossword puzzle usually involves feedback, such as having someone peer over the shoulder of the person doing the puzzle. The clues given under these circumstances can be called *acceptability characteristics* and usually come in the form of a raised eyebrow accompanied by "*look at 15 Down again—it looks wrong to me*" or "*are you sure about 18 Across?*" There is a rather essential difference between acceptability characteristics and the other four types of narrowing characteristics just described. Insofar as statements on acceptability are inherently evaluative, acceptability characteristics might be more likely to occur in corrective solicits made after an initial response has occurred to an initial solicit. Although only 24 out of the 3502 solicits studied contained an acceptability characteristic, it was the case that six of these were in corrective solicits such as:

> Teacher: Read the sentence that tells it.
> Student: (reads a sentence from the book)
> Teacher: Is that the *right* sentence?

Teacher: (holding a raincoat)
Uh, color.
Student: Grays.
Teacher: (holds out palms of hands)
No *s*, no *s*.
Student: Gray.

As with *label characteristics*, acceptability characteristics did occur in the classrooms we studied even though they did not occur frequently in solicits. Typically we saw them in teacher reactions to student responses, and sometimes in student-to-student reactions regarding personal comments and events. Their rarity in corrective solicits and in initial solicits may reflect a holdover from behaviorism, that students should never be given a wrong example even if it is distinguished as such. Acceptability may not be an issue in classrooms, during soliciting, due to some desire for acceptable responses only.

What the comparison of the crossword puzzle solicits and the classroom solicits we studied shows is that narrowing characteristics are used consciously in the fashioning of the former and only incidentally in the fashioning of the latter. Table 1 shows the total number and percentage of the narrowing characteristics in the 35 classes we observed.

Table 1

	Number of Classes	Type of Class	Number of solicits*	Number of solicits with narrowing characteristic**	Percentage of solicits with narrowing characteristics
	8	ESL adult	2087	316	15%
	11	Science high school	448	81	18%
	6	Social studies high school	399	50	13%
	10	Social studies elementary	568	30	5%
Totals	35		3502	477	13%

*demands, requests, or questions that required a response such as "What's this?," Repeat after me.
**demands, requests, or questions that required a response that contained an optional component that served as a clue or as a message to limit the range of possible responses, such as "What's this?—a three letter word" or "Repeat—but slowly."

What can teachers do with information about narrowing characteristics in solicits? First, we can increase the number of narrowing characteristics we use, especially in initial solicits. By doing this, we can begin to see the extent to which solicits that set criteria or establish categories affect hits and misses. We can begin to see how these types of solicits aid in adjusting the difficulty of solicits. Donaldson (1978) has shown how the alteration of just one word in solicits in tests can radically alter the number of hits and misses. There is no reason to believe that manipulating narrowing characteristics in classroom solicits would not have the same effect.

There are, of course, a variety of other variables which need to be considered at the same time narrowing characteristics are manipulated. "Close the door before I count to three" and "Write your answer in five words" both contain a space-shape-size characteristic, "before I count to three" and "in five words," respectively. Yet, though the type of narrowing characteristic used is the same, the former pertains to class management in a social studies class and the latter pertains to the study of language in an ESL class. The content of a narrowing characteristic may then be related or unrelated to the subject matter of a class. Likewise, it may be related or unrelated to class management or to the lives of the participants. It may be the case that in a particular class the total of narrowing characteristics is larger because the teacher injects a narrowing characteristic into each solicit regarding class management. At the same time as the content of the narrowing characteristic is considered, consideration of the class type becomes necessary. If "Close the door before I count to three" occurs in an ESL class, it may well be the case that the content of "before I count to three" is not being used as a management device, but for the study of language, for example, as a test of comprehension for new lexis.

Previous announcements no doubt also narrow choices. Guessing the names of flowers or birds is likely to result in more hits if we are told before the first solicit that all responses need to name items that are yellow. Without this announcement, daffodil or canary would be preceded by more misses than would be the case following this announcement, even though the solicits themselves in both cases would not contain narrowing characteristics. In other words, narrowing characteristics may be communicated in announcements that precede solicits rather than in solicits themselves. This both provides another teaching alternative and alerts us to the fact that other variables can affect the proportion of hits and misses.

Context and setting also affect hits and misses. When someone approaches us on the street and asks "Where's the post office?," we are surrounded with buildings and landmarks that classroom learners do not have. We also know that most of the time a question on the street will be in regard to directions or some other procedural matter (e.g., the time, a match)—and not something personal, such as what we had for dinner the night before. In the classroom, however, the context may not change for long periods of time and the roles may remain the same day after day. This lack of variability itself does little or nothing to help narrow choices for responses, but if contexts do vary, then they will affect the ratio of hits and misses just as narrowing characteristics will. As a result, contexts must be explored too.

Furthermore, the source of the solicit with a narrowing characteristic needs to be noted. Who or what is doing the soliciting? Outside of classrooms, the person in the role of student often adds a narrowing characteristic. Consider this conversation in a drugstore:

Customer: Do you have any earplugs?
Clerk: For *sleeping* or *swimming*?
Customer: For noise.
Clerk: You want sleeping.

Here, the clerk is in the role of a student, responding to the solicit from the customer, who at the first moment is in charge. The clerk as student adds a narrowing characteristic—two, in fact. Having students begin to ask questions after solicits they do not understand with narrowing characteristics in them may increase the total number of these components. But comparing just total numbers and not noting who does the soliciting in various classes will obscure what may be as important a variable as the narrowing characteristic itself: the source of it. These variables have been explored in more detail (see Sanselow 1984).

It is often the case that teachers want to know clearly what impact on or implications for daily classroom practice a particular piece of research has. Given the limitations of this study, however, any prescriptive statement would be out of the question and we currently regard much discussion of implications here as premature. We have undertaken the study of narrowing components and their relationship to hits and misses in a spirit of exploration. Our goal throughout this study has been to develop a progressively clearer description of a particular component of solicits inside and outside classrooms. Given both the range of types of narrowing characteristics, as well as the variety of other variables that probably affect hits and misses, it seems unlikely that we will ever have the key to hits and misses. A certain amount of miscommunication, like a certain amount of disease, seems inevitable. But the discomfort of some diseases can be eased, and the prevention of others can be discovered, partly as a result of systematic description of the features of healthy and diseased cells. In the same way, the distress of some misses can be eased, and the prevention of others can be sought, through the type of non-judgemental description of the components of solicits we have reported here more than prescriptions to do one thing or another.

Even if the number of misses is not decreased a great deal, at least as a result of this type of exploration it is more likely that we will conclude that most misses are caused by describable rules that we follow in different settings. And even though following the rules of crossword puzzle solicits may alter the proportion of hits and misses less than we might want, ultimately the process of searching for the key may be more important than finding it because the search shows how normal misses, as well as hits, really are.

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The Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching: An Observation Scheme[1]

Patrick Allen, Maria Fröhlich, Nina Spada

A striking feature of applied linguistics during the past decade has been the rapid growth of interest in classroom-oriented research. This has led to an increased awareness of the great complexity of the language teaching and learning process, together with a willingness to recognize that the second language classroom and what goes on there can be systematically investigated and need no longer be regarded as "an impenetrable *black box*" (Long 1980). The wide range of classroom-oriented research is indicated by a review of the recent literature, which includes studies of style-shifting in classroom interlanguage, cross-cultural comparisons in the use of speech acts, turn-taking behaviour of students and teachers, patterns of participation in native speaker/nonnative speaker interactions, the treatment of learners' errors, and the nature of the linguistic input provided by teachers. Classroom observation, which attempts to provide operationally defined terms which will enable us

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to conceptualize the act of teaching (Fanselow 1977), is an important aspect of this research.

The current tendency to pay closer attention to what teachers actually do in the classroom—as distinct from what linguists and psychologists say they should do—has been encouraged by the realization that vague generalized references to global language teaching methods cannot adequately describe the teaching-learning process. The tendency of much research in the past has been to view teaching as a simple concept in terms of the pedagogical methods employed. Descriptions of second language instruction have often been based on imprecise terminology such as *grammar-translation*, *audiolingual method* or, more recently, *communicative language teaching*. For example, a well-known study by Scherer and Wertheimer in the mid-sixties (1964) set out to compare students who had been taught by grammar-translation and those who had been taught audiolingually, in order to determine which method would lead to the most successful language learning. A few years later, the Pennsylvania Project (Smith 1970) attempted to determine the effects of the audiolingual approach on the second language achievement of students in a two-year secondary school program. Although these studies have valuable aspects, they remain inconclusive partly because their reference to global methods proved insufficient to distinguish between the actual practices of teachers in classrooms. The nature of the dilemma was summed up by Bialystok, Fröhlich and Howard as follows: "It is evident that the specific behaviours used by two different teachers may vary greatly even though they are implementing the same teaching program, or even presenting the same lesson. If these individual differences have significance for the teaching-learning process . . . then a general reference to overall methods or approaches is inadequate for the purposes of describing second language teaching and relating that teaching to learning outcomes" (Bialystok et al 1979:7).

A large number of observational instruments designed to describe and analyze what goes on in the classroom have emerged during the past thirty years (for overviews see Dunkin and Biddle 1974, Simon and Boyer 1974). Observation schemes may differ with respect to a great variety of features, including type and number of content categories, coding procedures, units of analysis and source of the variables, as well as the purposes for which the instruments have been designed. The vast majority of observation schemes are concerned with teacher-student interaction in classrooms where a subject other than language is taught. Such instruments may examine the classroom climate and the degree of direct or indirect teacher influence (Withall 1949, Flanders 1970); the roles of classroom participants in terms of the various *moves* they undertake and the meanings which may be expressed by each move type (Bellack et al. 1966); the cognitive level of the interaction (Davis and Tinsley 1968, Aschner et al. 1965); the nature of the classroom discourse (Forsyth 1974, Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), and a number of other factors.

The number of observation instruments designed specifically for the second language classroom, where language is not just the medium but also the object of instruction, is much smaller (for a recent review see Long 1980). One of the best known instruments is the Foreign Language Interaction Analysis System (FLINT) which was adapted from the widely used Flanders scheme and slightly extended by Moskowitz (1970, 1971). It was developed to give L2 teachers objective feedback about classroom interaction, specifically with regard to the climate established by the teacher. The system contains twelve basic categories, seven for teacher behaviours such as *deals with feelings, uses ideas of students, asks questions, directs pattern drills,* two for student responses (*specific response* and *open-ended or student initiated response*), and a number of other verbal and non-verbal categories. Another scheme proposed by Fanselow (1977) identifies five aspects of communication which are characteristic of classroom activity, and also of interactions outside the classroom. The basic questions asked are: *Who communicates with whom? What is the pedagogic purpose of the activity? What mediums (aural, visual, written, etc.) are used in the activity? What is the content of the message? How are the mediums used to communicate the message?* Other recent schemes (Bialystok et al. 1979, Mitchell et al. 1981, Naiman et al. 1978, Ullmann and Geva 1982) attempt to provide more detailed information about the interaction between teachers and students and propose categories designed to capture various features which are felt to be theoretically, empirically or intuitively relevant to the second language classroom.

The scheme described in this paper (COLT: Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) is being developed within the context of a five-year project looking at a number of questions related to the nature of language proficiency, and its development in educational contexts for children learning a second language (Allen et al. 1983). The research is organized around an examination of four general issues: the nature of language proficiency, the influence of social context on bilingual development, the effects of instructional variables on language, and the influence of individual learner characteristics. Our concept of proficiency is based on the hypothesis that competence is not a unitary phenomenon but involves at least three components: grammatical, discourse, and sociolinguistic (that is, knowledge of the formal systems of lexis, morphology-syntax, and phonology; knowledge of the way sentences combine into meaningful sequences; and knowledge of the ways in which utterances are produced and understood appropriately in a social context). The assumption is that learners may develop competence in any of these areas relatively independently, that learners and native speakers will differ in their relative mastery of these skills, that the skills are involved in different degrees in different language tasks, and that L2 programs may differentially affect the development of these traits.

The instructional variables selected for examination in the COLT scheme have been motivated by a desire to describe as precisely as possible some of the features of communication which occur in second language classrooms. Our concept of *communicative feature* has been derived from current theories of communicative competence, from the literature on communicative language teaching, and from a review of recent research into first and second language acquisition. The observational categories are designed (a) to capture significant features of verbal interaction in L2 classrooms, and (b) to provide a means of comparing some aspects of classroom discourse with *natural* language as it is used outside the classroom. One reason for undertaking this research was to investigate the claim that a knowledge of the formal aspects of language develops out of meaningful language use, rather than the other way around. According to Evelyn Hatch, "the basic assumption has been . . . that one first learns to manipulate structures, that one gradually builds up a repertoire . . . and then, somehow, learns to put the structures to use in discourse. We would like to consider the possibility that just the reverse happens. One learns to do conversation, one learns how to interact verbally, and out of this interaction syntactic structures are developed" (Hatch 1978: 404).

Although recent approaches to L2 instruction, e.g., communicative language teaching, emphasize the need for a more meaningful and natural use of language inside the classroom, there seems to have been little research aimed at indicating the precise differences, if any, in methodology and outcomes which distinguish these from more traditional approaches. Michael Canale, in a recent paper, notes "the current disarray in conceptualization, research and application in the area of communicative language pedagogy", and suggests that it "results in large part from failure to consider and develop an adequate theoretical framework" (Canale 1983). As a result of the controversy which surrounds such ill-defined concepts as *functional practice*, *meaningful discourse*, and *authentic language use*, we decided not to attempt a definition of communicative language teaching as a general global concept, but rather to compile a list of indicators of communicative behaviour, each of which could be separately observed and quantified. We hoped that this approach would enable us to investigate the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms, especially in those cases where two or more teachers claimed to be following different pedagogic approaches.

We found that none of the existing observation instruments could be adopted in its entirety for the purpose of our study. We therefore decided to develop our own observation scheme, which would contain categories to measure features of communication typical of classroom discourse, as well as categories to measure how closely these interaction patterns resemble the ways in which language is used in non-instructional settings.

DESCRIPTION AND RATIONALE OF THE OBSERVATION SCHEME

The COLT observation scheme is divided into two parts (see Appendices 1 and 2). Part A describes classroom events at the level of activity, and Part B analyzes the communicative features of verbal exchanges between teachers and students as they occur within each activity. The decision to establish *classroom activity* as the main unit of analysis was based on the fact that this concept is familiar to teachers and constitutes the focus around which most teaching is conceived and organized. The rationale for Part B derives from the fact that the development of communicative competence is a major concern in the current language teaching literature, and constitutes one of the basic issues in the Development of Bilingual Proficiency Project of which the classroom observation studies form a part. In this section we will present a brief discussion of the main parameters of the observation scheme. The description of classroom activities will be dealt with first, followed by a presentation and discussion of the communicative features of classroom interaction proposed in this scheme.

Part A: Description of Classroom Activities

Although the concept of classroom activity is intuitively and pedagogically meaningful, a clear and unambiguous theoretical definition is not easily obtained. For this reason an operational definition containing five distinct parameters has been tentatively established. Each activity, including where appropriate the constituent subsections or episodes (cf. Mitchell, Parkinson, and Johnstone 1981), is described with reference to the five parameters, as follows:

I. Activity type
II. Participant organization
III. Content
IV. Student modality
V. Materials

Each parameter includes several subsections, some of which are hierarchically organized. They represent a combination of high and low inference categories. Although the parameters and their constituent categories are intended to serve a descriptive purpose, their selection is theoretically motivated in that they reflect current theories of communicative competence, and other issues in first and second language learning which have been influential in the development of L2 methodology. The five parameters of Part A are described below:

Activity type. The first parameter of the observation scheme is open-ended, that is, no predetermined descriptors have to be checked off by the observer. Instead, each activity is separately described: e.g. drill, translation, singing, discussion, game, dictation, roleplay, reading aloud. Frequently, activities consist of two or more episodes: e.g. (a) the teacher reads the words of a song aloud, (b) the students repeat the words after the teacher, (c) the students sing the song. These would be described as three separate episodes within one activity. The parameter *activity type* was left open so that the scheme could accommodate the wide variety of activities occurring in various L2 programs at different age levels. As the research proceeds it is possible we will find that different programs may be characterized by the predominance of specific types of activity. Should this prove to be the case we intend to develop a superordinate classification scheme which would allow the reduction of possibly hundreds of separate activities into a limited number of representative types. One possible categorization is suggested by the *formal* and *functional* distinction described by Stern (1981). Another could be based on a differentiation between *authentic* and *non-authentic* tasks (Breen 1982), authentic tasks being those which simulate real-life communicative situations.

Participant organization. This parameter describes three basic patterns of organization for classroom interactions: Is the teacher working with the whole class or not? Are the students divided into groups or are they engaged in individual seat work? If they are engaged in group work, how is it organized? The various subsections are as follows:

1. *Whole class*
    (a) Teacher to student or class, and vice versa (One central activity led by the teacher is going on; the teacher interacts with the whole class and/or with individual students).
    (b) Student to student, or student to class and vice versa (Students talk to each other, either as part of the lesson or as informal socializing; one central activity led by a student may be going on, e.g. a group of students act out a skit and the rest of the class is the audience).
    (c) Choral work by students (The whole class or groups participate in the choral work, repeating a model provided by the textbook or teacher).

2. *Group work*
   - (a) Groups all work on the same task.
   - (b) Groups work on different tasks.
     (Note: If possible, we indicate the number of groups and the number of students in each group. We also indicate whether the teacher or the students specify the activities and the procedures, and the extent to which the teacher monitors group work).
3. *Group and individual work*
   - (a) Individual seat work (Students work on their own, all on the same task or on different tasks).
   - (b) Group/individual work (Some students are involved in group work, others work on their own).

The above low-inference categories are descriptive of how the students are organized as participants in classroom interaction; however, the categories may also reflect different theoretical approaches to teaching. In the literature on communicative language teaching, for example, group work is considered to be an important factor in the development of *fluency skills*, or communicative competence (Brumfit 1981; Long, Leslie, McLean, and Castanos 1976). The reason for this claim is that highly-controlled, teacher-centered approaches are thought to impose restrictions on the growth of students' productive ability. In classes dominated by the teacher, students spend most of their time responding to questions and rarely initiate speech. Moreover, student talk in teacher-centered classrooms is frequently limited to the production of isolated sentences which are assessed for their grammatical accuracy rather than for their communicative appropriateness or value. Because the emphasis in group interactions is more likely to be on the expression of meaning, and less likely to be on the linguistic accuracy of utterances, classes which can be shown to provide more group activities may affect the L2 development of learners in ways which are different from those that represent a teacher-centered *lock-step* approach to instruction.

Content. The *content* parameter describes the subject-matter of the activities; that is, what the teacher and the students are talking, reading, or writing about or what they are listening to. Three major content areas have been differentiated: Management, Language, and Other Topics. The rationale for these categories arises from current discussions of theoretical issues in first and second language acquisition, including theories of communicative competence, and also from a number of practical pedagogic concerns. The content categories are as follows:

1. *Management*
   - (a) Classroom procedures
   - (b) Disciplinary routines
2. *Explicit focus on language*
   - (a) Form
   - (b) Function
   - (c) Discourse
   - (d) Sociolinguistics
3. *Other topics*
   - (a) Narrow range of reference

  - (b) Limited range of reference
  - (c) Broad range of reference
4. *Topic control*
  - (a) Control by teacher
  - (b) Control shared by teacher and student
  - (c) Control by student

The first content category, *Management*, has been separated from the other content areas because it does not fall within the range of planned curriculum content, but arises from the needs of the classroom situation. Management exchanges are of particular interest in L2 learning because they often include examples of spontaneous communication within the context of an otherwise grammatically-oriented classroom (Brumfit 1976, Long 1983). Management also relates to authentic communication in that the giving and receiving of directives of a procedural or disciplinary nature represents an aspect of language use which is very common in the *real world* outside the classroom.

The content areas *Language* and *Other Topics* reflect the distinction between first language acquisition in natural settings, and second language learning in the classroom. It has been repeatedly shown that in interactions with children acquiring their first language the focus is on the message being conveyed, and that the vast majority of corrections by caretakers refer to violations of meaning rather than of form (see Snow and Ferguson 1977 for a discussion of this issue). The focus in the L2 classroom, however, has typically been on the presentation of the language code and on the correction of formal errors, especially in programs based on the grammar-translation or the audiolingual approaches. In view of the often limited success of more traditional methods of L2 teaching and the claim that the process of L2 learning is in many ways similar to that of first language acquisition (Corder 1971, Richards 1973), it has been argued that L2 teaching methods should attempt to approximate the conditions under which young children learn their first language. The question of whether the primary focus of instruction should be on meaning or on code is one of the crucial issues in this debate.

Explicit focus on language and *Other topics* are both divided into several subsections. With regard to explicit focus on language, *form* refers to grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation, *function* to illocutionary acts such as requesting, apologizing, and explaining, *discourse* to the way sentences combine into cohesive and coherent sequences, and *sociolinguistics* to the features of utterances which make them appropriate to particular social contexts. These four categories have been derived from theories of communicative competence reflected in the work of Hymes (1972), Morrow (1977), Munby (1978), Wilkins (1976), Canale and Swain (1980) and others, and on the model of L2 proficiency proposed in the Year I Report of the Development of Bilingual Proficiency Project. The assumption underlying the Language categories is that instruction which gives differential attention to these areas of competence may affect language learning in a variety of ways.

With respect to *Other Topics*, an attempt was made to find a small number of superordinate categories to represent the potentially vast number of topics which can arise in conversation. We tentatively suggest a tripartite system, that is, topics of narrow, limited, and broad range of reference. Underlying this classification is a belief that the cognitive content of instruction may have an effect on L2 learning.

Topics of narrow range refer to the immediate classroom environment, and to stereotyped exchanges such as *Good morning* or *How are you?* which have phatic value but little conceptual content. Included in this category are routine classroom references like establishing the date, day of the week, what kind of weather it is, or the use of other information which is easily verifiable or recalled. Topics of limited range refer to information which goes slightly beyond the classroom while remaining conceptually limited. Examples would be routine social topics like movies, hobbies, and holidays; school topics including extracurricular activities; and topics which relate to the students' immediate personal and family affairs. Topics of broad range go well beyond the classroom and immediate family environment, and involve reference to controversial public issues, current world events, abstract ideas, and reflective personal information such as *What do you like about living in Toronto?* It is often the case that when such topics are under discussion ideas do not come automatically but require some degree of soul-searching and originality. Communicative theorists believe that more time should be spent promoting realistic broad-range discussions in the L2 classroom, rather than confining students to the predictable routines of model dialogues and structural drills.

The final category relating to content is *Topic Control*, that is, who selects the topic that is being talked about: the teacher, the student, or both? Second language programs differ widely with regard to the behaviours included in this category. It has frequently been pointed out, for example, that the audiolingual method constitutes a strong claim concerning the role of the teacher in L2 education. In the literature on communicative language teaching, on the other hand, the teacher is not seen as an authority figure or director of the student's work, but more as a counsellor, resource person and guide. In a communicative curriculum such as the one proposed by Breen and Candlin (1980) the teacher and the students are seen as *co-participants* and *joint negotiators* of the teaching process, and the students actively participate in the selection of materials, topics and tasks. It is hoped that a close observation of classes which differ in terms of topic control, together with an analysis of classroom treatment and learning outcomes, will enable us to throw some light on the question of what constitutes the most effective balance between teacher and student roles in L2 education.

Student modality. This section identifies the various skills which may be involved in a classroom activity. The focus is on the students, and the purpose is to discover whether they are listening, speaking, reading, or writing, or whether these skills are occurring in combination. A category *other* is included to cover such activities as drawing, modelling, acting, or arranging classroom displays. We anticipate that a differential focus on the various skills and their combinations may directly affect the development of particular aspects of the learner's L2 competence.

Materials. This parameter introduces categories to describe the materials used in connection with classroom activities. In addition to the type of materials involved (written, audio, visual) consideration is given to the original source or purpose of the materials, and to the way in which they are used. In the case of written or audio texts, we note whether they are minimal in length (captions, isolated sentences, word lists) or extended (stories, dialogues, connected paragraphs). The categories for materials are as follows:

1. *Type of materials*
   - (a) Text
   - (b) Audio
   - (c) Visual
2. *Length of text*
   - (a) Minimal
   - (b) Extended
3. *Source/purpose of materials*
   - (a) Pedagogic
   - (b) Semi-pedagogic
   - (c) Non-pedagogic
4. *Use of materials*
   - (a) Highly controlled
   - (b) Semi-controlled
   - (c) Minimally controlled

The third category involves us in making a judgment about whether the materials were specifically designed for L2 teaching (that is, pedagogic), or whether they were originally intended for some other purpose (non-pedagogic). Frequently, materials from outside the school environment are adapted for instructional purposes, hence the need for an intermediate category. A real newspaper or magazine used in the classroom in its original form would be an example of real-world, non-pedagogic, or *other purpose* material. On the other hand, a simplified reader, or a textbook unit contrived to illustrate a particular grammatical point, would be an example of materials specifically designed to be used for L2 instruction. In between, there is a category of semi-pedagogic material which utilizes real-life objects and texts, but in a modified or simulated form. An example of this might be a series of pictures or headlines from real newspapers, presented in a textbook with accompanying captions and exercises, which make the material more appropriate for the needs of the L2 learner. Advocates of the communicative approach have claimed that *authentic* materials are essential in order to prepare students for the kinds of discourse they will encounter outside the classroom (Breen 1982, Brumfit 1981, Phillips and Shettlesworth 1975). One of the questions we would like to investigate is the way in which classrooms actually differ in the repertoire of materials used, and how the differences may affect the type of L2 abilities that students acquire.

The final category in this section refers to the way in which the materials are used, as distinct from the type of materials they are. The use of materials in the classroom may be highly controlled, semi-controlled, or minimally controlled. For example, consider three situations in which students are being asked comprehension questions based on a reading passage or picture. In the first situation the discourse may be highly controlled in that the questions and answers adhere quite closely to the text. In the second situation the discourse is semi-controlled, that is, it extends occasionally beyond the restrictions imposed by the textbook. In the third situation the textbook simply provides the starting-point, and the ensuing conversation ranges widely over a number of topics which emerge spontaneously from the contributions of the students. It has been suggested, as a general principle, that a flexible treatment of materials, particularly texts, will enable students to develop their fluency, to "do many things which are not entirely predictable . . . but which will indicate that their natural language learning capacities are being exercised and encouraged" (Brumfit 1981: 48). This statement appears to be inherently plausible, but we need more information about specific degrees of control and the effects that they might have on learning outcomes.

Part B: Communicative Features

The second part of the COLT observation scheme consists of an analysis of the communicative features occurring within each activity. As in the case of the categories of Part A, the communicative features have been motivated by numerous discussions in the current literature concerning communicative competence, communicative language teaching, and first and second language acquisition. So far, the following seven communicative features have been isolated:

I. Use of target language
II. Information gap
III. Sustained speech
IV. Reaction to code or message
V. Incorporation of preceding utterances
VI. Discourse initiation
VII. Relative restriction of linguistic form

All the features are coded for teachers and students, with the exception of discourse initiation and relative restriction of linguistic form, which are coded for students only. A discussion of the seven features follows:

Use of target language. This communicative feature is designed to measure the extent to which the target language is used in the classroom. It is based upon the obvious assumption—not necessarily evident in all teaching methods—that in order for a second language to be acquired it must be used by the students. This feature is covered by two categories in the coding scheme: *L1* refers to use of the first language, and *L2* refers to use of the second, or target, language.

Information gap. This communicative feature refers to the extent to which the information requested and/or exchanged is unpredictable, that is, not known in advance. Theories about the nature of communication emphasize that a high degree of unpredictability is characteristic of natural language use (Breen and Candlin 1980, Morrow 1981, Widdowson 1978, Canale 1983). In other words, communication must have a purpose—the giving, receiving, or requesting of information. It is not surprising that if the information requested is already known in advance, as is often the case in L2 classrooms, the motivation to communicate tends to be rather weak.

Although studies of first language acquisition have shown that there is a high level of predictability in many interactions between caretakers and children in the early stages (MacLure and French 1981), the information gap increases rapidly as language proficiency develops. In contrast, it appears that many L2 classroom interactions, even at the intermediate and advanced levels, are marked by an absence of real information gap. Students may perceive very little reason to listen carefully or to think about what they are saying when the main purpose of the exercise is to display their knowledge of grammar without consideration of the message being conveyed (cf. Mehan 1979). It follows, then, that one of the aims of communicative language teaching is to engage learners in activities where the message is reasonably unpredictable, in order to develop information processing skills in the target language from the earliest possible stage (cf. Johnson 1982).

The categories designed to capture this feature in the COLT scheme are the following:

1. *Requesting information*
   - (a) Pseudo-requests (The speaker already possesses the information requested).
   - (b) Genuine requests (The information requested is not known in advance).
2. *Giving information*
   - (a) Relatively predictable (The message is easily anticipated in that there is a very limited range of information that can be given. In the case of responses, only one answer is possible semantically, although there may be different correct grammatical realizations).
   - (b) Relatively unpredictable (The message is not easily anticipated in that there is a wide range of information that can be given. If a number of responses are possible, they provide different information).

Sustained speech. This communicative feature is intended to measure the extent to which speakers engage in extended discourse, or restrict their utterances to a minimal length of one sentence, clause or word. The rationale for this feature is primarily pedagogic. Although communication outside the classroom consists of minimal as well as sustained discourse, L2 classrooms often restrict the length of the learner's output to one sentence or less, and rarely provide opportunities for more extended speech (McEwen 1976, Bialystok et al. 1979, Mitchell et al. 1981). If practice with normally sustained discourse is considered to be important for the development of fluent speaking and listening skills, then it is necessary for the teacher to create situations where such practice can take place. The categories designed to measure this feature are:

1. Ultra-minimal (utterances which consist of one word—coded for student speech only).
2. Minimal (utterances which consist of one clause or sentence—for the teacher, one-word utterances are coded as minimal).
3. Sustained speech (utterances which are longer than one sentence, or which consist of at least two main clauses).

Reaction to code or message. The fourth feature coded in Part B is closely related to the *content* parameter of Part A—the point at issue being whether the purpose of an exchange is to focus on the language code (that is, grammatical correctness) or on the message, or meaning, being conveyed. Research has shown that in first language acquisition attention is focused on the meaning rather than on the well-formedness of utterances (Snow and Ferguson 1977, de Villiers and de Villiers 1979, Wells 1981). Moreover, it appears that when children are acquiring their first language, correction of the code tends to confuse rather than help the learner (Brown 1980, McNeill 1966). In the L2 literature, it has been suggested that greater opportunities to focus on meaning will help the learner approximate first language acquisition conditions, and may lead to similar success (Macnamara 1973). At present, this feature is covered by a single category, *Explicit code reaction*, defined as "A correction or other explicit statement which draws attention to the linguistic incorrectness of an utterance." Further categories may be added as a result of information obtained during the piloting of the observation scheme.

Incorporation of preceding utterances. In conversation there are many ways in which participants may react to each other's contributions. One person may add a comment, or elaborate on a preceding utterance. Another may ask a related question, or perhaps there may be no reaction at all. Some studies of first language acquisition have suggested that expansions of a child's utterance which add or request additional information and in which somewhat novel forms are used tend to enhance the development of the child's linguistic competence (Cross 1978, de Villiers and de Villiers 1979, Ellis and Wells 1980, Wells, Montgomery, and MacLure 1979, Wells 1981). Generally speaking, these studies suggest that "the best environment for learning language contains a rich variety of sentences closely tied to what the child currently produces" (de Villiers and de Villiers 1979: 109). It seems reasonable to suppose that the same principle may apply in L2 learning.

To allow coding for a limited selection of reactions to preceding utterances, six categories have been established. These are ordered according to their potential for stimulating further topic-related discourse, as follows:

1. *No incorporation:* No feedback or reaction is given.
2. *Repetition:* Full or partial repetition of previous utterance(s).
3. *Paraphrase:* Completion and/or reformulation of previous utterance(s).
4. *Comment:* Positive or negative comment (not correction) on previous utterance(s).
5. *Expansion:* Extension of the content of preceding utterance(s) through the addition of related information.
6. *Elaboration:* Requests for further information related to the subject matter of the preceding utterance(s).

Discourse initiation. In first language communication among adult speakers as well as between children and adults, interactants generally have equality in discourse roles and rights, that is, they may not only respond to elicitations but they may also spontaneously initiate talk. From an early age, children begin to engage in complex patterns of turn-taking behaviour. It has been noted that in many mother/child interactions it is the child who initiates the exchanges, and the mother—the *teacher* as it were—who responds (cf. MacLure and French 1981). These self-initiations are a gamble on the part of the child, an exploration of different linguistic means to negotiate meaning. Thus children create an opportunity to test their own hypotheses about the language by forcing their interactants to provide them with feedback and further input.

In many L2 classrooms the discourse roles of the learners might almost be regarded as the reverse of their counterparts outside the classroom. The classroom appears to be an environment which requires far more elicited than self-initiated talk, thus restricting the purposes for which language can be used. It follows that another principle of communicative language teaching is that students should be encouraged to initiate discourse themselves, instead of always having the role of responding to questions imposed on them. To measure the frequency of self-initiated turns by students in different types of classrooms, the category *Discourse initiation* has been included in the coding scheme.

Relative restriction of linguistic form. In mother tongue communication, speakers use a wide variety of linguistic forms to express the meanings they wish to convey. Apart from sociolinguistic constraints imposed, for example, by the situation or by the relative status of the interactants, the grammatical structures and semantic choices are virtually unrestricted. The same lack of restriction is evident in the speech of children acquiring their first language. As indicated earlier, children experiment with language, try out their own strategies for communication and—as their systematic errors reveal—develop and test hypotheses about the language being learned. This constant process of meaning negotiation and hypothesis testing appears to be a crucial factor in first language acquisition.

By contrast, L2 learners are typically expected to mimic specific grammatical patterns in repetition or substitution drills, and are rarely encouraged to experiment or to use language freely. Often the fear is that creative, uncontrolled language use will lead to many errors which might then prove difficult to eradicate. The literature on communicative language teaching emphasizes the need for activities in which learners can practice getting a message across with whatever resources happen to be available, thus developing the type of skill which is referred to as *strategic competence* (Canale and Swain 1980). As in mother tongue acquisition, errors are viewed positively, and are considered to be a necessary step in the active process of hypothesis formation and gradual approximation to the target language: "The student must be allowed to grope, to play around with the language, to internalize it by using it and in using it to make mistakes" (Brumfit 1981:49). As with all the communicative features, however, it remains an empirical question what techniques are pedagogically most effective in a given classroom.

To permit an investigation of the effect of different degrees of restriction on the development of L2 proficiency, three subcategories have been proposed:

1. *Restricted use:* The production or manipulation of one specific form is expected, as in a transformation or substitution drill.
2. *Limited restriction:* There is a choice of more than one linguistic form but the range is very narrow, e.g. responses to Yes/No questions, statements about the date, time of day, etc.
3. *Unrestricted use:* There is no expectation of any particular linguistic form, as in free conversation, oral reports, or personal diary writing.

CODING PROCEDURES

Two sets of coding procedures have been developed: one for the activity level analysis (Part A) and one for the exchange level analysis (Part B).

All coding in Part A is done in real time by two observers who are present in the classroom during the observation period. The activities are timed, and the starting time for each activity is entered in the left-hand margin of the coding form. In addition to a written description of the type of activity (for example, drill, dialogue repetition, conversation), the observers place a check mark in the appropriate boxes under each of the four major headings: participant organization, content, student modality, and materials. In the course of a single activity, several subsections may be marked. For example, under the category *participant organization* there may be instances of student-to-student interaction, teacher-to-student interaction, and teacher-to-class interaction. In cases like this, check marks are placed in the appropriate boxes for each of these participant interaction types, and a circle is drawn round the check mark in the box which represents the primary focus or predominant feature of the activity. This procedure is followed when coding all the Part A categories.

Part B coding is performed subsequent to the lesson, and is based on an audio-recording of each of the classes observed. A time-sampling procedure within activity types is followed. Coding starts at the beginning of each activity for one minute and is resumed after a two-minute interval. During the one-minute coding periods, the frequency of occurrence of each sub-category of the communicative features is recorded by two coders. For an example of how the coding is performed, consider the following interaction between a teacher and two students which occurred within a one-minute coding period:

Utterance	Communicative features
T: What's the date today?	L2/pseudo-request/minimal speech
S_1: April 15th.	L2/predictable information/ultraminimal speech/limited form
T: Good.	L2/comment/minimal speech
T: What's the date today?	L2/pseudo-request/minimal speech
S_2: April 15th.	L2/predictable information/ultraminimal speech/limited form
T: Good.	L2/comment/minimal speech

Consider now the following interaction between a teacher and a student which required a different set of codes:

Utterance	Communicative features
T: What did you do on the weekend?	L2/genuine request/minimal speech
S: I went to see a movie.	L2/giving unpredictable information/minimal speech/unrestricted form
T: That's interesting. What did you see?	L2/comment/elaboration (genuine request for information)/sustained speech
S: E.T. I really liked it. He's so cute.	L2/giving unpredictable information/sustained speech/unrestricted form
T: Yes, I saw it too and really liked it. Did anyone else see it?	L2/comment/expansion/elaboration (genuine request for information)/sustained speech.

It will readily be seen that the first example represents a stereotyped routine marked by pseudo-requests, predictable responses, and minimal speech patterns, while the second is much closer to natural language behaviour, and includes genuine requests, unpredictable responses, and a reasonable amount of sustained speech.

The intention is that the coding procedures for Part A and Part B should permit the investigators to provide a detailed description of the type of activities that are taking place in L2 classes, together with a characterization of these activities in terms of a wide range of linguistic-communicative and pedagogic factors that are thought to influence L2 learning.

A final comment regarding the reliability of the coding procedures is necessary before we discuss some of the data. We have already mentioned that there are both high and low inference categories in this scheme. However, the majority of our categories, particularly in Part B, are of the high inference type. One criticism that has been raised with respect to the use of such categories is that they involve a high degree of subjective judgement on the part of the coder. While this has to be admitted, it is also the case that many of the most interesting aspects of language learning are not directly observable. One way of compensating for the lack of objective criteria inherent in the use of high inference categories is to ensure that high levels of inter-observer reliability are obtained. Although reliability will not be statistically calculated until the pilot phase is completed, it appears so far that we have been able to achieve high levels of agreement for both Part A and Part B of the coding scheme.

REPORT ON SOME PRELIMINARY DATA ANALYSIS

During the development of the observation scheme we were able to collect and partially analyze some observational data from French (FSL) and English as a second language (ESL) classes at two different grade levels, and these are the data that we will be discussing in the present section.

The pre-pilot data come from one class of adult ESL learners and one class of adolescent (grade 6) FSL learners. We selected these two classes because they had been described as representing two distinct approaches to L2 instruction. The FSL class reflected a more traditional structure-based approach to L2 teaching (that is, the audiolingual method) and the ESL class represented a communicative approach. Because learners in these classes differed in terms of age, language of instruction, motivation for learning the L2, time spent in the classroom, and native language background, it would not be possible to make direct comparisons between the groups regarding the relationship between instructional input and learning outcomes. The value of looking at these two classes at this particular stage in our research was to determine whether the observation scheme was capable of describing features of interactional behaviour in two classes which were thought to represent two distinct approaches to L2 instruction, and furthermore, whether it was able to specify in precise terms what those differences might be.

When we compare the features coded for Part A in both classes, we find that there were both similarities and differences. The participant organization in both classes was primarily teacher-centered, although there were some instances of student-to-student interaction in each class. The content in both classes consisted primarily of a focus on language. However, the FSL class focussed primarily on the formal features of the target language (particularly vocabulary and pronunciation), while the ESL class covered instruction not only of the formal features, but also of some discourse and sociolinguistic features. In terms of the range of reference in subject matter, the FSL class tended to be limited in range, whereas the ESL class had instances of both limited and broad ranges of reference. The student modality for each class covered listening, speaking, and reading, with writing receiving limited attention during the time observed in the FSL class, and no time during the observational period in the ESL class. The materials were primarily pedagogic in both classes, but the use of materials in the ESL class ranged from highly controlled to minimally controlled, while the use of materials in the FSL class was highly controlled throughout the observation period.

In summarizing the results of the activity level analysis, it would appear that although there were some differences, they were quite minimal. If we look at the exchange level of analysis, however, some interesting differences both in terms of teachers' verbal input and learners' verbal output begin to emerge.

In terms of the first communicative feature, L2 use, the target language was used all the time by teachers and students in both classes, with the exception of one or two utterances in the first language in the FSL class. In terms of the second communicative feature, information gap, the FSL teacher asked primarily pseudo-questions and students gave only predictable responses, thus making the information gap very narrow in this class. In the ESL class, however, there was a great deal of giving of unpredictable information on the part of the teacher, as well as the use of both genuine and pseudo-requests. Also, students in this class gave both predictable and unpredictable responses (particularly in the last few minutes of coding), thus making the information gap between students and teacher somewhat wider. When looking at the instances of sustained speech, we were able to see that the FSL teacher's speech was minimal most of the time, consisting of no more than one phrase or sentence in each exchange, and the students' output was either minimal or ultra-minimal, consisting of no more than one word or sentence in each exchange. In the ESL class the teacher's speech was primarily sustained and the students' speech varied between sustained and minimal, although it was primarily minimal. Both teachers reacted to the code in these classes, although the tendency to react to meaning became more of a focus later in the ESL class. Reaction to code or message on the part of students was not evident in either class, although later in the ESL class there were clear examples of students reacting to message rather than to form in conversational interaction.

Turning to the incorporation of utterances, we found that in the FSL class there were no elaborations on the part of the teacher, whose reactions consisted primarily of comments and repetitions. In the ESL class, however, elaborations and expansions were far more numerous than repetitions, paraphrases, and comments. Elaborations did not occur on the part of students in either class during the coding period, although there were also instances of this later on in the ESL class. The categories concerning the extent to which students were restricted in their use of linguistic forms revealed that while the FSL learners were restricted at all times, the ESL learners, although restricted in some cases, also produced language which was both limited and unrestricted in terms of form. The discourse initiation category revealed that although no students in the FSL class spoke unless asked a question by the teacher, there were some instances of spontaneous self-initiations on the part of students in the ESL class. These self-initiations increased as the class continued beyond the coding period.

To summarize, it would appear that even with data that represent only one and a half hours of coding, differences are beginning to emerge between these two classes at the exchange level of analysis. The teachers' input in the ESL class appears to be more varied, containing a higher level of information gap, more instances of sustained speech, and a greater number of expansions and elaborations than the FSL teacher's speech. Similarly, the students' output in the ESL class appears to be more varied, containing fewer restrictions in terms of form, a higher level of information gap, and more instances of sustained speech than the FSL data. It should be emphasized that the aim of the pre-pilot phase was to test the ability of the observation scheme to differentiate between various methodological approaches. It was not part of our purpose at this stage to draw conclusions about the value of one method rather than another. In particular, it is not possible to evaluate the various approaches to ESL and FSL instruction without reference to a variety of sociological and administrative factors which it is not our intention to discuss in the present paper.

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have described a classroom observation scheme, currently being developed in the Modern Language Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, which incorporates an activity level and an exchange level of analysis and which provides a framework for comparing various features of classroom discourse with patterns of natural language use outside the classroom. It is hoped that the COLT scheme will enable us to clarify a number of issues which relate to the current debate concerning the respective advantages of more innovative *communicative* approaches versus more traditional structure-based approaches to second language education.

Since it was not possible to define communicative language teaching in general global terms we compiled a list of indicators of communication, each of which can be separately observed and quantified. The communicative orientation of classrooms is therefore not characterized by a single feature, but by a cluster of interrelated dimensions. A combination of scores for the various categories will enable us to place each class at some point on a communicative continuum or scale. It is hypothesized that different types of communicative orientation will differently affect the development of proficiency in a second language. We must emphasize, however, that we are making no claim at this stage about what type of communicative orientation might be pedagogically most expedient in a given instructional setting.

We have described the categories of the observation scheme and discussed a preliminary data analysis. This analysis suggests that the COLT scheme is capable of revealing significant differences in communicative orientation between French and English as second language classes at two different grade levels. However, more data from a large number of classes is required to ensure that the COLT scheme can effectively describe instructional differences in a variety of L2 programs. For this reason, a pilot study was recently undertaken in a number of second language classes in the Toronto area. The sample includes 12 classes at the grade seven level, broken down as follows: 4 core French classes, 2 extended French classes, 2 French immersion classes, and 4 English as a second language classes.[2] All the classes have been observed twice, and analysis is being carried out at the activity and exchange levels. The pilot phase will provide the investigators not only with a larger data base, but also with data from classes of learners who are all of the same age, and who are learning a second language in a variety of instructional settings.

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[2] *Core French* is the basic regular French program, in which French language is the subject of instruction. In Ontario, French is compulsory up to grade 9. The starting grade and the amount of instruction vary. On the average, students start between grades 4 to 5 with 40 minutes a day. In Toronto, students now start in grade 4 with 40 minutes a day.

Extended French involves the teaching of one or more other school subjects through the medium of French in addition to core French instruction.

In *French immersion* programs French is the language of instruction in all subject matter classes. At the primary level, the programs typically involve a half day of immersion in kindergarten followed by one or more years of total French instruction. At the earliest in grade 2, a daily period of English language arts is introduced, by grade 4 or 5 the proportion of the day in English may be increased to 50%.

Once the pilot data are analyzed, it will be possible to begin the next phase of the research in which we intend to compare classes which differ significantly in terms of their activity level and exchange level characteristics. A number of classes of each type will be observed, and students will be given proficiency tests which are being developed concurrently with the observation scheme. Analysis of the test results will then be carried out to determine the relationship between type of instruction and proficiency in various aspects of second language skills.

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APPENDIX 1

Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT): Part A

SCHOOL
TEACHER
SUBJECT

GRADE(S)
LESSON (Minutes)

DATE
OBSERVER

Col. 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48
TIME	ACTIVITIES	PARTIC ORGANIZATION							CONTENT																								STUDENT					MATERIALS									
		Class			Group		Comb.		MAN.			LANGUAGE				OTHER TOPICS														TOPIC CONTROL			MODALITY					Type							Use		
																NARROW				LIMITED					BROAD													Text									
		T↔S/C	S↔S/C	Choral	Same	Different	Individual	Gr Ind	Procedure	Discipline		Form	Function	Discourse	Sociolng	Classroom	Stereotyp	Pers Bio	Other	Personal	Rout/Soc	Fam Com	School T	Other	Abstract	Pers Ref	Imagination	World T	Other	Teacher	Teacher Stud	Student	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Other	Minimal	Extended	Audio	Visual	Pedagogic	Semi-Pedag	Non-Pedag	High Control	Semi Control	Mini Control

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APPENDIX 2

Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching (COLT): Part B

TEACHER VERBAL INTERACTION																	STUDENT VERBAL INTERACTION																				
COMMUNIC FEATURES		TARGET LANG		INFORMATION GAP				SUST SPEECH		REACTION CO MES	INCORPORATION of S. UTTERANCES							TARGET LANG			INFORMATION GAP				SUST SPEECH			FORM RESTR			REACTION CO MES	INCORPORATION of S/T UTTERANCES					
				Giving Info		Request Info															Giving Info		Request Info														
No talk	Off-task	L_1	L_2	Predict	Unpred	Pseudo	Genuine	Minimal	Sustained	Explicit Code Reaction	No Incorp	Repetition	Paraphrase	Comment	Expansion	Elaboration	Choral	L_1	L_2	Disc. Initiation	Pred	Unpred	Pseudo	Genuine	Ultraminimal	Minimal	Sustained	Restricted	Limited	Unrestricted	Explicit Code Reaction	No Incorp	Repetition	Paraphrase	Comment	Expansion	Elaboration

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III. POLITICAL INFLUENCES

INTRODUCTION

As Smith's introductory paper in this volume stresses, it is of vital importance to language teachers that they maintain control over *what* they teach and *how* they teach it; only through such control will they be able to put their knowledge about and skill in teaching ESOL to full use. Establishing and maintaining control, however, is by no means a simple matter. It involves becoming socio-politically aware, knowing what the political factors influencing a particular teaching situation are and how to work within—or around—these factors in order to ensure a quality program.

The three concluding papers in this volume consider what is involved in becoming aware of the ever-present socio-political messages, which, if disregarded, can play havoc with the most carefully planned program.

Mary Ashworth provides a challenge to the members of the profession to act individually and collectively in response to the social, institutional, pedagogical, economic, and commercial forces which face teachers on local, national, and international fronts. She also offers advice on the practical steps which can be taken in order to bring about changes in educational policies at all three levels.

Elliot Judd describes some of the political and social effects which ESOL instruction causes and reminds us of the moral questions involved. A basic assumption in Judd's argument is that English language teaching instruction reflects a country's language policy, whether or not it is recognized as such by governing institutions. We, as educators, become instruments of this *de facto* policy, whether we realize it or not.

The volume ends with Tom McArthur's contribution, which points out that ideological attitudes underlie every teacher's actions in the classroom and every institution's expectations as to what constitutes desirable conduct on the part of its staff and students. He suggests that these attitudes be as coherent as possible and insists that, at the very least, they be "subject to overt examination." In the final analysis, it is, of course, this awareness of the impact of what we say and do which permits the ESOL professional to stay, humanely, in control.

"Fifth Business" in the Classroom

Mary Ashworth

We have a saying, "When the U.S.A. sneezes, Canada catches a cold," which is just a way of pointing out the interdependence between our two countries. A famous Canadian, Marshall McLuhan, looked wider and called our world "a global village," emphasizing the relationships that hold between world communities. But John Donne said it all years ago as he turned the spotlight on the individual: "No man is an island, Entire of itself." These statements remind us of the interdependence that exists between man and man, between man and community, and between communities. This same interdependence holds between the world outside the classroom and the classroom. Try as they may, classroom teachers cannot shut the world out of their classrooms. There are in our local, national and world societies a number of forces which affect classroom teachers directly and indirectly, no matter what age or ability level nor where in the world they are teaching.

I want to look first at some of these forces and their effect on classroom teachers, and then look briefly at ways in which these forces can be combatted if they are destructive and harnessed if they are constructive.

International Forces

An obscure archduke was murdered in a small town in Europe in 1914 and the world was plunged into war. A dictator came to power in Uganda and thousands of refugees were forced to flee. Oil was discovered in a small desert kingdom and world finances were turned topsy-turvey. We do not know what is happening right now in some part of the world we have never heard of that may affect our lives.

What events affect us as language teachers? Perhaps the unstable economy of some far distant country; or an unstable or unacceptable political regime; or the emigration or immigration policies of countries which export or import people; or the desire of a country to increase the technical knowledge of its young people; or the use to which a country puts education, including language learning—perhaps to advance the individual, perhaps to control him/her—and the kind of help that that country seeks from another country.

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How do these few items I have mentioned in the international sphere affect the ESL/EFL teacher? They affect:

a) who the students are—their source countries,
b) how many are permitted to enter the receiving country and therefore how many language teachers are needed,
c) whether the students are independent, financially secure, well educated or refugees with no money and an interrupted education,
d) whether the movement of people is planned and orderly or sudden and chaotic.

National Forces

Countries have different policies regarding assimilation or integration, regarding ethnocentricity or multiculturalism. Some countries accept newcomers as citizens-in-the-making; others see them as sojourners who must, in time, return to their own land.

Every country has its own political system, its own way of permitting change to be brought about—perhaps through party politics, perhaps through grass roots advocacy groups—or perhaps change is not allowed.

These factors affect:

a) the cultural content of ESL/EFL courses—is one culture represented or are many?
b) the flavour of textbooks—are they highly nationalistic or do they present a wider, international flavour?
c) the emphasis placed on citizenship training as a goal of the program,
d) the ways in which teachers can make changes that will benefit students.

Social Forces

How well does a society accept people from other cultures? Is racism overt or covert? The answer may well lie in the history of that particular society, for instance, in their response over the last one hundred years to culturally and linguistically different immigrants.

What is the status of teachers in the society? Does the community respect the teaching profession? Are some teachers more equal than others? Where do ESL/EFL teachers stand in the pecking order? Is the community prepared to spend tax dollars on the culturally and linguistically different learner? Will the community find jobs for these people or will it stand in the way of their vocational, social and educational aspirations?

These social forces affect:

a) teacher training,
b) the hiring of teachers,
c) support for programs,
d) curriculum,
e) the role of the teacher.

Institutional Forces

During the last few years we have heard about *institutional discrimination*. It exists. For instance, do all schools make it possible for non-English speaking children attending English medium schools to catch up in language use and in their general education to their peers, or are there subtly built-in barriers to their progress?

Some institutional administrators constrain teachers to such a degree that it is impossible for them to do a good job. Others see their role as servants of the students and their teachers.

Anyone who has worked in a large institution knows the interdepartmental rivalries which disrupt the environment; similar rivalries are found between institutions. When what is sought is either personal gain or the territorial imperative for its own sake, then competition can be damaging.

Finally, every institution has its own philosophy and goals—sometimes clearly stated, sometimes not—and ESL/EFL must fall or flourish within these goals.

Institutional forces affect:

a) the goals of the ESL/EFL program,
b) the design, length and quality of the program,
c) the hiring of teachers and teacher trainers,
d) the climate within which the program operates.

Pedagogical Forces

Many items could be listed under this heading; let me mention a few. There is the input from related disciplines such as linguistics, sociology and psychology as well as from education. There is research, both good and bad research, research into important matters and research into trivia, and there are many gaps in research. There is the quality of teacher training, both pre-service and in-service; the relationship of ESL/EFL to the rest of education; and the relationship of language learning to the learner's further education and cultural adjustment. Each of these items can be expanded and others added to the list, but time is short.

How do these pedagogical forces affect classroom teachers? They affect:

a) the quality of classroom teaching,
b) the approaches, methods and techniques used,
c) the curriculum—its construction, its purpose,
d) the textbooks used,
e) the kinds of programs mounted by an institution—both ESL/EFL programs and support services such as counselling.

Economic Forces

We have booms and busts, periods of expansion and recession. They may occur in our own country, or we may feel the effects of another country's growth or regression.

Economics affects the willingness of citizens to pay taxes to support community education programs.

Economic forces affect:

a) funding, which in turn affects whether or not there is an ESL/EFL program, which affects the hiring and firing of teachers,
b) class size,
c) amount and quality of materials available,
d) society's attitude towards immigrants. (When there is a booming economy, immigrants are welcome because labour is needed. But a recession brings unemployment, and immigrants are often scapegoated for the failure of society to better order its economy. The result may be a rise in racism and increased tension in society, in the institution, and in the classroom.)

Commercial Forces

I remember the days when there was virtually only one Canadian ESL textbook used across Canada: Carson Martin's *An Introduction to Canadian English*. There was, in addition, a limited amount of material from the U.S.A. and the U.K. If you have visited the publishers' display at this Convention, you have seen and perhaps tasted the banquet of books and other aids now on sale. But publishers have to make a profit if they are to stay in business; they can take some risks, but not enough to cripple themselves. During the last few years in Canada, some ministries and departments of education have stopped adopting *one* text for all students in the province; instead, they now recommend five or six possible texts leaving it to school districts to make the choice. Large bulk orders are therefore not made as frequently, which naturally affects the publishing business.

The commercial forces in our society can affect:

a) the supply of commercial texts, games, hardware and software available to teachers,
b) the content of the materials purchased by teachers,
c) the approaches and methods teachers will use, influenced as they will be by the materials they purchase.

I have not touched on other forces such as the professional force (teachers' organizations, for example), or the religious force, and you may well think of other forces which have a particular effect on you.

Teachers' Response to these Forces

Do teachers have a responsibility to harness those forces which are beneficial to their students and to combat those forces which are harmful to their students? I think they do. Then how can they do it? Through organizations and through individuals.

There are both international and national organizations. Which is TESOL? I sense it is both. Some of its affiliates lie outside the U.S.A.; therefore, there must exist what I think of as TESOL International. Yet from time to time my affiliate here in Canada gets letters asking us to write to our congressman—we don't have one! That sounds like TESOL U.S.A.! Perhaps to be really effective, nationally in the U.S.A. and internationally, TESOL has to make a clear distinction between its two parts so that we know when TESOL USA is speaking and when TESOL International is speaking. Both voices need to be heard, but distinctly, not blurred.

TESL Canada has put out an excellent position paper dealing with ESL for adults. It spoke with a national voice about a national concern. I would like to ask TESL Canada to establish a position on (1) the education of non-English speaking children across Canada and (2) teacher training in ESL. I know that funding for projects like this is a problem but it is amazing how governments under pressure can find money.

Next, let us consider the role of the individual. It takes time and effort so to control the forces in our respective societies that they work for the benefit of our students. It is often tiresome and frustrating work, but the rewards are immense: new programs are mounted, quality improves, and better opportunities for advancement are open to non-English-speaking students.

In 1981 I wrote an article entitled "Twenty Axioms For Making Changes in Educational Policies and Procedures" which was published in the fall issue of *TESL Talk*. The following are my twenty axioms, written, of course, for a Canadian audience, but applicable, I think, to some degree in other countries:

1. *Be quite clear in your own mind what the problems are and what needs to be done.* If you are not clear in your own mind what the heart of the problem is and what needs to be done about it, you will never convince anyone that you are anything more than a perennial grumbler! (The *you* addressed here and throughout these axioms is either (1) the individual teacher seeking to rectify a poor situation adversely affecting his/her own class and brought about by an unsound policy or practice within a single institution, or (2) a local, provincial or federal organization trying to change an unsound policy or practice initiated or tolerated by government or (3) both.)
2. *Collect the facts and figures you need to prove you have a case.* The phrase *a lot of people* does not carry nearly as much weight as *fifty* or *five thousand* or whatever number fits the situation. Figures are often available if you search long enough and ask enough questions of enough people. If figures are not available then perhaps this *fact* that no one has cared enough to find out, for example, how many preschool ESL children are not getting adequate or appropriate language help in day care centres, needs to be made public to show up the lack of concern for those who cannot help themselves. Facts, or the established absence of facts, give strength to a brief.
3. *Decide on your four or five major priorities—then pick the one you think you can be reasonably sure of completing successfully and get on with it quickly.* Nothing succeeds like success. When you have been successful once, people will start to take notice of you. The news will spread that you don't just talk—you act! Once you have established a positive reputation, you can get going on some of the long term, and perhaps more important, items on your priority list.
4. *Gather a few like-minded people around you.* Your collective enthusiasm will attract others. Many successful movements of the past, whether social, political or religious, were rooted in the beliefs and actions of a mere handful of people who refused to be defeated.
5. *Get to know some government officials, municipal, provincial and federal, on a personal basis.* There are many sincere and dedicated civil servants who experience the same joys and the same frustrations as we in the field do

in trying to change the world. When you know them, they will give you good counsel and win your respect.

6. *Take an active part in local politics.* You don't have to run for office, but know what is going on in your local community. Be an informed voter and be ready to inform others. Serve on a community-based committee and become known.
7. *Encourage outsiders to meet your students and to see what goes on in your classroom.* Don't let ESL/EFL become a *mystery cult* in your institution. School administrators and other teachers, as well as members of the community, need to see for themselves what you are talking about when you say you want to make changes.
8. *Support your organization and be prepared to give it some time and to serve on a committee.* The energy which fuels an organization comes from the individual members. If your organization has not done as much as you think it should have done, perhaps it is just short of member-energy. Decide how much time you can give and when you can give it—then phone the president!
9. *But remember that the individual is just as important as an organization—both have a role to play in making changes.* Not everyone is an *organization person.* Some are loners and work better on their own. Any time you feel that an individual in today's complex world is powerless, remember Terry Fox. (Terry Fox lost a leg to cancer. He ran halfway across Canada and raised over twenty million dollars for cancer research before the disease killed him.)
10. *Make your organization truly representative—don't let cliques develop.* A good mixture of people who represent different geographical regions, different types of institutions and different levels of instruction will make the pinpointing of problems common to all much easier, allowing battle to be enjoined on a number of fronts simultaneously.
11. *Advertise your organization and its cause.* Get on the media. Send out brochures. Remember that *out of sight* does mean *out of mind.*
12. *Join hands with organizations in the local community or in the province that have similar interests.* A good communications network can ensure that organizations work in support of each other and not at cross-purposes.
13. *Join hands also with national organizations.* TESL Canada, for example, is our national ESL organization comprising the provincial ESL associations and representatives from the unorganized regions. Be ready to speak to the federal government with a strong national voice and to the provincial government with a strong provincial voice.
14. *Keep personally well informed on what is happening in the field locally, provincially, nationally and internationally; and as an organization keep your members well informed.* Every ESL/EFL teacher is a public affairs representative for ESL/EFL and must be ready to speak knowledgeably about the concerns and achievements in the field.
15. *Make sure you know what concerns come under the federal government and what come under the provincial government so that you know who to ask for what.* Kicking the football back and forth is an old game played by provincial and federal politicians. Don't give them an excuse for a game by taking a request to the wrong group. But if they do play football with you,

make sure there is a crowd (the public) watching. There is nothing like a wide-awake audience for keeping the players honest. After all, the audience pays the players' salaries!

16. *Find a politician in power and another in opposition who seem to have some interest in your cause and cultivate them.* Send them information, invite them to meet you, get on first-name terms with someone in the constituency office, and then get to work on them!
17. *Show these politicians what benefits they will reap from supporting your cause—votes? publicity?* They are busy people and need some pay-off for the time they give you.
18. *Ask questions* before *making accusations.* You may be wrong! Asking a few simple but direct questions is an important component in the process of making changes.
19. *Be professional in fact not in fiction.* That is, be properly trained, if possible in connection with a university. Engage in classroom action research. Write articles dealing with your own particular expertise. Learn from the ever-increasing body of knowledge about ESL/EFL and add to it.
20. *Be prepared to be hurt.* If you want to make changes in society, you must make yourself vulnerable to personal attack. But remember—the hurt you will feel will probably be nothing compared to the hurt presently felt by those for whom change is so desperately needed.

Well, there it is. There are forces out there that can help and hinder us all in our work. We can and must control, combat and harness them—and where there's a will there's a way!

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TESOL as a Political Act: A Moral Question

Elliot L. Judd

INTRODUCTION

Teaching English to speakers of other languages (hereafter abbreviated as TESOL) is a political act. Those of us who are engaged in the teaching of English to non- or limited-English speakers are, in addition to teaching, also directly or indirectly implementing a stated or implied language policy as well as actively promoting a form of language change in our students. Because we are engaged in all of these activities simultaneously, we are involved in a political process.

Because we are immersed in such a process, we must become aware that we are faced with certain moral dilemmas. The solutions to be found to these dilemmas, if any, are quite complicated and are often painful to deal with. The intention of this article is to explore both the nature of TESOL as a political activity and some of the moral questions that arise from this situation. Because this discussion will not be able to present more than a brief overview of these dilemmas, the points that will be made here are designed mainly to raise questions and stimulate debate—not to provide definitive answers. As we go through this discussion, it will become increasingly apparent why it is impossible to provide absolute solutions to the questions raised here, and we should be wary of those who claim to. It should also be borne in mind that the nature of this article and the directions offered in it are speculative and may be subject to other interpretations.

A POLITICAL ACT?

The roots of education in any society must be congruent with the overall political goals of that society. It is political authorities, for example, who decide what subjects are permitted or promoted in schools. This is especially true in the case of second language instruction, both in terms of the decisions about which language or languages are chosen for instruction as well as which language(s) are not permitted to be taught. Further, the degree of emphasis to be placed on each language and the level of proficiency desired for each language taught are often political questions.

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Standards for certification of teachers in general, and decisions about specialized categories for ESOL instructors in particular, are made, or certainly approved, by political authorities either directly in the form of legislative acts or through those whom they appoint to run the educational bureaus. (That is to say, it would be self-defeating to appoint anyone whose political thinking is contrary to the political goals of those in power.) Furthermore, public education is funded through taxation or through other political avenues, and choices made in the disbursement of such funds reflect political philosophies. If money is spent on ESOL teachers, materials, specialists, and tests, other priorities, either educational or otherwise, are not funded to the same degree that would have been possible had the ESOL allocations not been made. If money is spent on scholarships for ESOL students and on teacher-training, it is not being spent on something else. Even decisions about money allocated for research on second language learning and teaching can be traced to political sources. Ultimately, all of these decisions which are made about TESOL must be justified in terms of the political benefits to be derived. In short, educational policies in general, and policies regarding second language instruction in particular, must be congruent with wider political objectives (Jernudd 1982, Spolsky 1982, Tollefson 1982, Judd 1981 and 1978, Tucker 1977, Britton 1976, Richards 1972, Jernudd and DasGupta 1971, Rubin 1971).

A second, but related, point is that ESOL instruction, alone or as part of bilingual education, is part of a country's general language policy. Given that the determination of that language policy is in the political arena, ESOL decisions are political decisions. Decisions about language use and instruction are not made on the basis of linguistic aesthetics or overall structural properties. Languages are chosen for their utility. The status of English and its relationship to other languages in a society is determined deliberately by those in power. This determination may be affected by historical precedents, economic and technological realities, and/or socio-political necessities. It is also necessary for those in power to determine the status and function of English in a given society—either as a native or co-native language, as a language of wider communication, as an additional language, or a foreign language (Judd 1981). Those who hold political power must continually evaluate English language use and decide if changes are to be made. Decisions on whether or not to change the role and status of English are based on the political usefulness of English and the effect of English on other parts of the political arena. Such decisions also affect the form and model of English chosen for instruction in any given country.

The implications of this are perhaps obvious: TESOL and ESOL professionals are not only affected by the political process; we are also part of the political process. We not only receive funds from the existing political institutions; our very existence is invariably linked to those institutions and the political climate in which they function. In short, whether we like it or not, we are political creatures. We may choose on an individual level to remain apart from partisan politics, but we cannot claim that we are above politics or beyond its grasp. As educators who are implementing approved governmental policies, we are part of that system.

THE MORAL DILEMMA

The issue of politics and TESOL is not one of absolute, unquestionable ideology. Everyone who deals with politics eventually faces basic moral questions.

These relate to essential philosophical issues concerning what is perceived as *good* in a given society and what happens when a conflict arises between individual and group responsibilities and needs. Such philosophical debates are age-old and can be applied to a variety of issues. However, for the purpose of this article, the focus will be limited to some general comments related to TESOL and politics.

Establishing language policy in general and ESOL policy in particular involves making decisions. One variable which often affects the choices that are made is the relative status of a particular language (as compared with other languages) in a specific society at a particular point in time. When we discuss the notion of the statuses of language, we, of course, are making relative, comparative statements which elude exact measurement. For example, we can say that Language X has more status than Language Y in a certain domain. Invariably, attitudinal factors influence perceptions of language status. Furthermore, relative status relationships between languages change over time. Thus, certain languages acquire greater status while others can diminish. As a result, choices are made that involve the teaching profession. When we are involved in TESOL, we are hoping to promote the use of English in the target population. Of course, the degree of English language use and the domains in which it functions vary from situation to situation. Yet, by virtue of the fact that we are teachers of a second language, we are agents of language change. If we did not expect our students to learn English and change their English language use, why would we be teaching at all? In some cases, we may be asking our students to abandon their native language(s) entirely. More likely, we are asking them to learn English in order to function in specific domains—in the workplace, in academia, or for cross-cultural communications.

However, these decisions can force TESOL professionals to confront some serious moral dilemmas. Are we, for example, contributing to the demise of certain languages or linguistic communities? Do we have the right to do so? The answer to the first question can depend on the context of ESOL instruction. Generally, in an English-as-a-second-language environment, such as in Canada or the United States, we are not contributing to complete global language loss since the languages which our students speak will still be spoken by others in the students' home country. However, in some situations that are often classified as ESL contexts this may not be true. Day (1981) speculated that ESL teaching in Guam is leading to the "genocide" of Chamorro. A similar situation may be occurring in certain North American contexts with respect to the indigenous Native American languages. Even if we do not cause the complete disappearance of a language from the world scene, we may be hastening the disappearance of a language from its American or Canadian context because of the material, social, and political benefits derived by both the speakers of that language and the wider society from the abandonment of that language in favor of English. Should we be concerned about this state of affairs?

The questions of language change and language demise also occur in non-second-language TESOL environments. Since English is viewed by many as the language of economic, political, and social mobility, is there the possibility that people will abandon their native languages and/or cultures in favor of English and/or English-speaking culture? With the use of localized "Third World Englishes" (for a more complete discussion of these varieties see Kachru 1982a, Pride 1982, and Smith 1981), complete indigenous language and culture abandonment is unlikely (Fishman 1982 and Spencer 1974). In fact, the new English forms are becoming more widespread. Yet, we still must admit at least in some sociolinguistic domains, such as in the South Pacific, English is replacing other languages (Moag 1982). Is this phenomenon good? Are we as ESOL professionals contributing to this language shift or accelerating its pace?

The answers to these questions are far from simple. They involve basic conflicting concepts of philosophical and moral approaches to the issues. One view is that language shift is a natural sociolinguistic process. Languages come and go in any given community; some rise in terms of status and domains of usage, and others fall. The forces which affect these movements are part of language evolution and we, as second language professionals, have little to say about the process. We should take a descriptive approach and accept the reality.

However, there are those who present a contrasting point of view: although language change is natural, it is not inevitable. We are not, and should not be, passive observers who accept change as part of a larger phenomenon which is beyond our control. We are part of the process and, accordingly, we can affect the process itself. As professionals, we not only can, but must, voice our concerns when what we are teaching produces consequences of which we do not approve. If we are social scientists, we must evaluate and comment on the social processes occurring in our environment. As Day points out:

> All of us should be aware of our responsibilities as social scientists. We can no more escape the consequences of our actions than can those who helped to develop nuclear weapons. As teachers of English to speakers of other languages, we have to develop a social conscience. (1981:78)

In short, we as teachers involved in the political process are responsible for the political and social effects that our instruction causes.

What should be remembered at this point is that these conflicting views cannot be empirically verified through a comparison of quantifiable data. They represent philosophical positions. They depend on personal perspectives and are a product of personal approaches to education as well as of previous experiences, both intellectual and emotional. Some people consistently adhere to one position or the other; others vacillate; and still others avoid the issue entirely.

Beyond the question of the professional's role and responsibilities in second language instruction is the wider issue of the preservation of different languages and linguistic groups in any society. Should the political authorities and policy planners make concerted efforts to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity? If so, what roles will the schools play in this effort? This question revolves around the issues of pluralism and whether or not pluralistic societies are cohesive or divisive. The current situations around the world do not appear to offer any clear-cut answer to the question of how politically and economically stable linguistically and culturally heterogeneous societies are. Certainly many countries that are politically *unstable* and economically *underdeveloped* are also multilingual and multicultural. But there are also stable, *developed* countries that are also multilingual and multicultural. Therefore, there do not seem to be any direct causal links between linguistic and cultural diversity and level of development. There are numerous other factors beyond language and culture which enter into the determination of economic prosperity and political unity. For that matter, depending on how one defines linguistic and cultural homogeneity, it could be argued that few, if any countries are truly homogeneous, including most of the native-English speaking countries.

What we are faced with, therefore, are conflicting opinions which are philosophical in nature and which depend on personal viewpoint. On the one hand, we have what we can call the majority-rules position, which maintains that decisions should be made in terms of the benefits that will be derived by the larger society. For example, in deciding questions of second language instruction, bilingual education, and language maintenance, adherents of this position make their decisions by looking at the ultimate benefits which will accrue to society as a whole. Lewis suggests that this view occurs in

> some societies (that) argue that justice is done to the different groups when the benefit to society as a whole is maximized, when the advantages to the greatest number of citizens outweigh whatever disadvantages may be experienced by minorities (1978: 679).

In terms of second language instruction, we justify our teaching on the basis of the political, economic, and social benefits to be gained by those who receive the instruction. But of equal importance from the collective point of view of the majority-rules position are the advantages to be accrued by the wider society from such instruction. If, in the process, certain languages or cultures diminish or even disappear, the loss is small when compared to the overall benefits for the majority. This same position would be applied in the case of multidialectal education.

An opposing viewpoint may be called an individual-liberty position, based on the writings of John Stuart Mill. Such a position maintains that every group, and every individual, has the right to maintain linguistic and cultural autonomy. Again, as Lewis explains:

> All languages and all individuals speaking whatever languages have an innate claim and an inalienable right to be safeguarded in and for themselves alone. The loss or disregard of one language, diminishing its role or restricting its currency in society, is not made right by the fact that a larger number of people gain a greater advantage. The smallest and most insignificant language groups or individuals, like the largest and most powerful, have a right to exist and prosper irrespective of any calculation of profit and loss (1978: 680).

In other words, society ultimately gains through individual freedom and diversity, and larger groups should not impose their will on smaller groups. It is the right of each individual or group to decide whether or not they want second language instruction, bilingual education, or multidialectal education. It is further implied that those in power should aid diverse groups in implementing their own educational destiny.

When linked to the questions already raised in this article, the two positions just stated aid in explaining how moral questions arise in TESOL. Those advocating the individual-liberty stance would decry the fact that, as ESOL professionals, we run the risk of changing certain groups' linguistic patterns and the proponents of this position would even challenge our right to do so. Since such language decisions are firmly entrenched in overall political issues, those in power have forced ESOL teachers to engage in activities which are morally troublesome. Conversely, the majority-rule position ultimately asks questions about who benefits from ESOL instruction and may even require educators to demonstrate how their classroom work serves to benefit society as a whole, something which may be difficult to do with any degree of certainty. Further, it assumes that those in power will be able to decide fairly and objectively what is good for society as a whole and then implement such decisions on an equitable basis. From the point of view of recent history, however, this assumption is open to question.

ADDITIONAL DILEMMAS

Until now, this article has focused on issues in TESOL in terms of language change and shift on the group level. Political decisions about second language use are, by nature, group-directed. They cannot be made on a case-by-case individual basis because institutions do not function that way. Yet there are also problems on the individual level since ESOL students and instructors are often placed in situations which are at odds with these group decisions. This obviously sets up an interesting series of moral questions which individual ESOL practitioners must face in their particular teaching situations. These often relate to the general moral question of how and when individuals are obliged to follow society's general principles and when they should deviate from them.

Some examples should help to illustrate this point. First, consider who is allowed to study English. In many parts of the world, access to formal education is restricted to the élite. Those who are connected either by personal associations or favored-group status are those who attend quality schools and/or are permitted to reach the higher levels of the educational system. Owing to the current prestige status of English as an international language, it is quite possible that those in our classes are the most select and privileged of the population. Does our ESOL instruction result in the continued dominance of these selected few in the future, which may perpetuate the social and political status quo (Whitely 1974 and Armstrong 1976)? Can we expect those whom we are training and who will some day assume power to share their social, economic and political benefits with those presently outside these positions of influence (Britton 1976)? Will those with knowledge use it for the society's overall benefit or only to aid a certain segment of the population (Jernudd 1972)? In many parts of the world, English provides access to positions of power. Should we, as ESOL professionals, question the motives of our students, especially in cases where we morally object to the possible uses to which their knowledge might be put? Do we accept without question the determination of who is permitted to study English and who is not?

Finding answers to these questions is difficult and frustrating. The problem becomes even more complex when ESOL instructors or advisors are functioning in a country that is not their own. Does a visiting professional have the right to question the local authorities concerning their motives for providing ESOL instruction and the ways they select students for ESOL programs, both at home and abroad? If we do question, are we not practicing a form of cultural, and perhaps moral, chauvinism? Can we assume that we have the *correct* motives ourselves in judging the morals of others? However, if we fail to question, are we not guilty of perpetuating societal inequities and injustices?

A second, but related, example also shows the moral dilemmas which arise from the political aspects of TESOL. In many areas throughout the world English is viewed as a vehicle for personal advancement. Those who aspire to economic, social, and political status study English not because they like English or even native

English speakers, but because the language has international prestige: it is the major *langue* of scientific and technological information, and it serves as an internal status marker (Kachru 1982b, Fishman 1982 and Strevens 1980b). Yet, in many parts of the world, the actual number of positions open to those with such skills is limited and the competition for these places is keen, so entry and advancement are often predetermined not by English language ability as much as by political connections. Should we as ESOL professionals inform our students that their dreams are unlikely to be realized because of existing realities? Should we participate in an educational process which nurtures illusion? Again, the issue of morality enters the discussion. At least one colleague has mentioned that he is convinced that one reason for the poor quality of ESOL instruction in several countries is government awareness of students' aspirations to study English combined with fear that if too many nationals acquire English at a high functional level, they will agitate for changes and potentially become a threat to those in power. Thus, it becomes politically prudent to offer ESOL instruction to the masses but instead of using highly trained teachers or modern textbooks, they use outdated teaching methodologies and curricula. Or, as this colleague put it, "Enough English to read the boxes but not enough to take over the factory."

For those of us in teacher-training, moral dilemmas also abound. For example, how do we react to training future ESOL teachers who express a desire to work for political or religious groups whose avowed goals are not only to teach ESOL but also to spread a particular ideology which we find culturally and politically noxious? On the one hand, it is dangerous to use political litmus tests as a criterion for admission into ESOL teacher-training programs. However, do we not have certain moral obligations to the future students of those whom we are currently training (Strevens 1980a), as well as to TESOL as a profession? The answers to these questions are elusive.

CONCLUSION?

It is probably not really possible to offer a conclusion to this article. I have raised certain points about the interrelationship between TESOL and politics and have argued that because of these interconnections, teaching English to speakers of other languages must be viewed as a political act. In addition, I have discussed how, given this view, we are faced with certain moral dilemmas. I have tried to give examples of the kinds of moral-political issues which ESOL professionals face. The list can be expanded without much effort. I cannot, however, offer any definite solutions to the problems I have raised for several reasons. One is that the answers to questions of morality are not absolute. Both sides have strong positions with some validity. In fact, the positions may be irreconcilable. Second, for me to suggest my solutions would in effect be to impose my own moral assumptions, which would be contradictory to the purposes of this article. Finally, TESOL professionals who have already established their own points of view on these issues are probably strongly entrenched in their beliefs, so concluding arguments undoubtedly would not convince them otherwise. What I can propose is that we all begin to realize that TESOL is a political act and investigate this situation more thoroughly, both through generalized works such as this one as well as through specific case studies that focus on particular language policy situations. I further hope that we will begin to recognize and discuss the moral issues that we all face without taking absolutist positions and failing to hear what those who challenge them have to say. Finally, I hope that this article has provided some controversy so that we can get issues out in the open and begin honest discussions.

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Where do YOU stand in the classroom?

—a consideration of roles, rules and priorities in the language classroom

Tom McArthur

When I was a small boy growing up in Scotland, I developed the conviction that Glasgow was the centre of the universe. I had no doubts about this. Most of the people present here today also had no doubts, when you were five or six years old, that the centre of the universe lay in Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, or Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, or wherever you first saw the light of day.

In these matters, we were, all of us, confirming Jean Piaget, Erich Fromm and other researchers in their theories of human development.[1] I am talking here, of course, about the egocentricity of the very young, developing from a vague awareness of self alone, to self with mother, then self with family, then the point when the self could link up with the general local environment. In the process of my identification with Glasgow, of course, I unreflectingly accepted the kind of *language* that that city had to offer *me*, a child of the working class.

In order to establish how things were for children like me at that time and in that place, and also to highlight some of the things I want to discuss in this paper, I would like to share with you a few choice items from the mythology of my home town. The first of these is set in a classroom in an elementary school. There is a cast of two: a well-intentioned lady teacher and an archetypal small boy whom we can call Wee Jimmy. The teacher is equipped, among other things, with a pointer and a wall-chart with pictures of animals on it. Using the pointer, the teacher indicates one particular animal on the chart, an animal with four legs and a willingness to wag its tail. The dialogue is as follows:

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[1] See, among others:
Jean Piaget—*Problèmes de psychologie génétique* (Paris: Denoel, 1972) tr. by Arnold Rosin as *The child and reality: problems of genetic psychology* (London & New York: Penguin, 1976)
Erich Fromm—*Psychoanalysis and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950)
Margaret Donaldson—*Children's Minds* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1978)

"And what is this animal called, Jimmy?"
"Please, Miss, that's a dug, Miss."
Frown.
"No, no, Jimmy. It's not a *dug*. It's a *dog*."
Pause.
"That's funny. It looks like a dug."

This apocryphal tale has a fair amount of sociolinguistic dynamite packed into it. For the moment, however, I would like to take only one aspect of it: the role of *teacher as social engineer*. The lady here represents certain social and linguistic values and expectations. In terms of these values and expectations much of what Wee Jimmy is, does, says and thinks is deviant, if not downright vulgar and inferior. Wee Jimmy, however, only becomes aware of this slowly and after considerable exposure to a number of teachers all more or less following the same line. At first, as in our story, he is just puzzled. Following Piaget, he tries to adapt to a *dug* that is also a *dog*. He either assimilates or accommodates the new reality, arriving in due course at something like; "In school a *dug* has to be a *dog*, or the teacher will be angry."

Jimmy does of course at length become aware that there is more to it than that. The teacher's and the school's ambitions for him are extensive: Wee Jimmy must give up *dugs* for all time and take to *dogs*. By doing this, however, he will separate himself from the style of speech of his parents, relatives and friends—forever. He is maybe fuzzy about this at first, but however fuzzy there is still a choice to be made: to go along with the teacher, or to resist. For this stage, around the age of nine onwards, I have a second apocryphal tale: same classroom, same lady teacher, same wall-chart, same pointer, same Wee Jimmy—but this time the pointer indicates a rather blank-looking animal with four legs, two horns and an udder:

"And what's that animal called, Jimmy?"
Pregnant pause
"That's a coo, Miss."
Frown.
"No, it is *not*. You know better than that, James.
It's *cow*!"
Wee Jimmy shakes his head, firmly.
"Naw. *You*'re a cow. That's a *coo*."

There is no record of what happened to our hero after he made this acute social comment. I have actually met a lot of Wee Jimmies around the world, both as children and adults, angry people from communities where special sets of values that are not their own have been pressed upon them in school or some similar institution. No doubt you have too. I have also known even more people who did not resist as such, but developed a skillful learning strategy that helped them, singly or in groups, to cope with authority and social manipulation. They create a kind of compromise situation. In Scotland this compromise is reflected in the distinction we make

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[2](1) See Piaget, above, Ch. 4.
(2) For a recent concise description of Piaget's triad of adaptation, assimilation and accommodation, see:
J.F. Travers—*The Growing Child: Introduction to Child Development* (New York & London: John Wiley, 1977: pp. 147-151)

between the "classroom language" and the "playground language". It is a form of what Charles Ferguson called *diglossia*[3] and what I would like to call here a kind of *tactical schizophrenia*: in one situation under one set of rules you behave in one way, and in another situation (sufficiently sharply distinguished from the first) you behave in quite a different way. The condition relates to what TESOL nowadays calls "the teaching of English as a second dialect", although in our case it was quite clearly "the teaching of English as a *higher* dialect".[4]

Where there are severe social differences (often also linked with regional, historical and political differences), the role of teacher as social engineer shades into the role of *teacher as judge and prosecutor* and finally the role of *teacher as social persecutor*. Worse, in situations where age-old resentments boil over into confrontation and even violence, roles can be reversed; the student-victim becomes the persecutor and the teacher-persecutor becomes the victim. There are many places that we all know where this kind of thing can and does happen.

One of the reasons for this happening can be illustrated by means of my third and final tale from Glasgow. In it we will assume that Wee Jimmy has submitted to pressure and now co-operates willingly in acquiring Standard English. Same classroom, same cast, but this time we can do without the pointer and the wall-chart. We have moved on to elocution, to the acquisition of a "good" or "proper" pronunciation. In particular, we are concerned with the glottal stop, which Glasgow people know be?er as the glo?al stop. This variant in our phonology is a cross we simply have to bear, a tribulation among life's many tribulations. A lot of time has been spent by pedagogues in the west of Scotland trying to eliminate the glottal stop, much as follows:

Teacher— Come on, Jimmy. Say 'butter'.
Wee Jimmy— Bu?er.
Teacher— No, no. BU*TT*ER.
Wee Jimmy— BU?ER!
Teacher— BU*TT*ER! BU*TT*ER!
Wee Jimmy— BU?ER! BU?ER!
Teacher— Come on, Jimmy. You can do it. T. T. BU*T*. *T*ER. BU*TT*ER.
Wee Jimmy— BU*TT*ER.
Teacher— (relaxing) Ah, tha?'s be?er!

Certainly it's funny, but it is also a monument to our social and linguistic insecurities, the kind of thing that investigators like Fishman, Hymes and Labov have in recent years described so well and discussed so fully.[5] Here, no matter how we assess the role of the student, we can see that the teacher is not just social engineer, judge, prosecutor and persecutor, but also in turn a kind of victim too, never quite able to sustain the model that he or she is required to sell. Such situations can lead too easily to an additional role: *teacher as hypocrite*.

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[3] See Charles Ferguson, Diglossia, in *Word* 15, 1959, pp. 325-340, reprinted in:
(1) Dell Hymes, Ed. *Language, Culture and Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964)
(2) Joshua Fishman, Ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Language* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968)

[4] I have looked more closely at the issue of "high" and "low" dialects in:
(1) Tom McArthur—The Status of English in and Furth of Scotland, in A. J. Aitken & Tom McArthur, Eds., *Languages of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1979: pp. 50-57)
(2) Tom McArthur—*A Foundation Course for Language Teachers* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press: 1983)

See also Fernando Penalosa, *Introduction to the Sociology of Language* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1981, esp. Chs. 6-10).

These reminiscences are intended as it were to set the stage. They describe, graphically I hope, the central thesis of this paper: that in the normal course of events we teachers carry with us every day into the classroom certain ideologies, complete or fragmentary, willingly or with reservations. These include sets of roles and rules, value systems and worldviews that we communicate to our students through a variety of channels. They can be communicated by the kind of instructions we give and the style of language in which we couch those instructions; they can be communicated by the observations and asides that we make as we work, through our facial expressions, our body language, our stance, our movements, the way we position things in the room, the way we *use* things in the room, and *above all* by our choice and use of our teaching methods and materials.

We can discern four possibilities as regards these ideologies. Sometimes the ideology is *overt* and easy to perceive, as for example when there is a crucifix, motto or photograph of a great leader on the wall, or regular appeal is made to sacred scriptures, a social plan, or the aims of the organization that runs the school. Sometimes the ideology is *covert* and indirect, as for example in the inculcation of WASP norms in North America, or in implicit attitudes to the roles of females and males, or the prevalence of one kind of racial or class type in textbooks. Sometimes the ideology is *erratic* and ambiguous, as if there is confusion inside the teacher-ideologue. Many teachers are by no means clear about their ideologies or the messages they send. Additionally, students can get conflicting signals, as for example when a closet pacifist teaches in a military college, or a socialist teaches a course in free enterprise. Sometimes the situation is *confrontational*, where the teacher takes one stand and the institution or the materials or even the students take another. The pacifist comes out of the closet or the socialist may contrast his or her views with the text, or someone uses a text about tobacco, alcohol or coffee to make a personal declaration as an abstainer. A classroom, as we all very well know, can be a welter of bits and pieces of ideology, blatant or subtle, implicit or explicit, taken for granted or openly evangelical.

Clearly, this is an enormous subject, relating not just to language teaching but to all education and in the end to the whole human condition. I want to confine myself here, however, to certain aspects of general education and language teaching, and as a starting point I want to put forward two basic distinctions which, it seems to me, lie behind much of our thought and behaviour, without our ever spending much time considering them. They are built into the kind of society that we have inherited, and I will label them archetypally, as it were. The first of these archetypes is the Marketplace, and the second is the Monastery, and I want to talk as a consequence of our language-teaching work being influenced on the one hand by a *marketplace tradition* and on the other hand by a *monastery tradition*.[6]

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[5] The field is rich. See, among others, Fishman & Hymes as cited above, Ftn.[3], Peñalosa as cited above Ftn.[4], and William Labov *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphis: The University Press, 1972).

[6] I have tried to describe the concept of the monastery and marketplace traditions in more detail in Ftn.[4](2) above.

The *marketplace tradition* relates to the rough and tumble of life, buying and selling, surviving, trading, travelling and somehow communicating wherever you go. Everything to do with it is dictated by simple necessity and is largely unstructured. It relates to shops, stalls, streets, bazaars, trading-posts, ports, all the places where people come together from diverse backgrounds and have somehow to deal with each other. In the great cosmopolitan cities of history—Babylon, Alexandria, Marseilles, London, New York—the procedures of the riverfront and warehouse have demanded quick practical answers to the problem of how to deal with speakers of other languages. Anything that works is welcome: a go-between if possible, gestures or pictures, your words or their words, your grammar or their grammar, anybody's words and anybody's grammar, in order to strike a bargain and get things moving. It is a makeshift system that has always worked well enough and in the process has given rise to trade jargons, camp languages, pidgins and creoles. These may be socially frowned on, but they are as alive as the merchants, hucksters, sailors, soldiers, whores and harbourmasters who use them. These *interlanguages* are vitally alive, and many a respectable and matronly modern language has something of this wild blood in its family line.[7]

By contrast, *the monastery tradition* describes a situation where education in general and language learning in particular occurred for formal social and cultural reasons, usually linked with a religion and promulgated in austere colleges where the sons of the socially elect gathered together to learn how to maintain their positions in society as priests, monks, civil servants, royal retainers, military officers and the like. They were fitted into box-like surroundings, organized in groups, homogenized as far as possible in terms of sex, age, place and time. The method is much the same whether it is the scribes of ancient Babylon and Egypt, the monks of mediaeval Europe, the brahmins of India, the teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods of Catholic schools and missions, the one-sex staff of one-sex private schools or the co-educational day schools that we all know now. The containerization of life is unrelieved in such institutions: students working in small box-like cells or studies or in large box-like classrooms, their time divided up into box-like periods marked by the ringing of bells, strict discipline imposed on how they comport themselves while studying box-like books organized into box-like pages and chapters, containerized portions to be committed to memory and acted upon in appropriate ways.

The marketplace is full of passions, obsessions and strategies, but it has never provided a serious alternative to the ideological basis of the monastery tradition, which is, I would argue, the tradition in which *we* are, willingly or unwillingly, embedded. The very architecture within which we work expresses the fundamental ideology of containerization, a highly efficient means of processing human beings for particular purposes, and one which we would find very difficult indeed to dismantle if we ever wanted to do so. Indeed, the annual TESOL convention is a masterpiece of organization built largely upon the foundation of the monastery tradition; speakers are out front or up high, at table or lectern, committed to time-slots and measured doses of knowledge that are offered to recipients carrying schedules all neatly laid out in rectangles that specify who does what, where, and at what time. Only in the area allocated to the publishers do we to some extent get away from this ancient order into a more fluid bazaar-like atmosphere, and there is still a certain reserve in organizations like TESOL as regards the commercial people out there, a kind of necessary evil, vaguely lowering the academic tone.

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[7] There have been a number of excellent recent studies of pidgin and creole languages. See, in particular:
Dell Hymes Ed.—*Pidginization and Creolization of Languages* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1971)
A. Valdman Ed.—*Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977)
Derek Bickerton—*Dynamics of a Creole System* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975)

I have mentioned these two traditions in order to highlight the existence of a containerizing educational process that expanded out of ancient religious and élitist origins into a worldwide network of schools and colleges. Many of us firmly believe that these schools and colleges are devoted to universal education and to the pursuit of both excellence and happiness. Wee Jimmy had to operate in just such a system with his *dugs, coos* and glottal stops, and found the dice weighted against him. I would now like to look at this system in a way that, I admit, is almost imbecile in its simplicity, by saying that the whole of the monastery tradition is founded on four things that many of us might feel are hardly worth discussing: a container called a "classroom", an authority figure once called a "master" or "mistress" but now usually just a "teacher", one or more trainees originally called "disciples" but now known as either "pupils" or "students", and finally some set of "materials" through which the teacher can ameliorate the condition of the students.

My argument at this stage is that every teacher who has ever had to work in a classroom has an ideology, however unexamined, of how things ought to *be* in that classroom, and every educational institution has an ideology as regards classrooms, corridors, play places and so on. Much of the teacher's ideology derives somewhat incestuously from his or her previous experience of classrooms and schools (but on the other side of things, as a student), and so the teacher is often, inevitably, perpetuating an undiscussed tradition, simply accepting things as they are.

Not always, of course. There are different ideologies of classroom behaviour and organization, and it seems to me reasonable here to see these ideologies in terms of how any teacher organizes the essential facts of life in the classroom, inside his or her own head. In simple logical terms, there are six basic sequences in which the three fundamentals of the classroom can be arranged:

1 teacher first—students second—materials third
2 teacher first—materials second—students third
3 students first—teacher second—materials third
4 students first—materials second—teacher third
5 materials first—teacher second—students third
6 materials first—students second—teacher third

These are six systems of linear priority, and each is worth a little study. Something like them lies at the heart of many individual approaches to teaching, or animates whole methodologies, especially in our business of language teaching. Thus, traditional monastery methodology has tended to emphasize *the teacher as authorized dispenser of knowledge* to fortunate and dutiful students with the aid of a book or books (Style 1); or, the same teacher reveals the content of a venerated book or books to a set of students who may or may not be worthy to receive that knowledge (Style 2). A contrasting more modern approach foregrounds the students in open-plan activities, learning together with the *teacher in the role of the Friend-Who-Knows,* using a variety of aids (Style 3); or, the free-and-easy students exploit various well-organized and often disposable materials while the *teacher* hovers here and there *in the role of resource person* (Style 4). In certain other situations, such as in the military or certain kinds of factory work or professional training, there is a job to be done with certain kinds of equipment which is of paramount interest, an instructor is there to inculcate the necessary skills and certain learners are there to acquire those skills, and if they don't then others will (Style 5); or, such skills may be approached as a kind of immersion procedure with the students learning by trial and error, and the teacher is there simply to limit mistakes and damage (Style 6).

These permutations have their defenders and their opponents, and express value systems, especially as regards the first elements: who or what comes first in the classroom, where the priorities lie. How can we, however, translate these styles or models into the immediate world of language-teaching methodology? Without enormous difficulty, I would argue, as follows:

1 2 > These are the dominant styles in traditional grammar-translation as well as in traditional structuralism, where the teacher leads and the students follow, using materials from which little deviation is permitted, and where in fact the teacher hardly ever improvizes, being instead the vehicle for the transmission of an approved body of information by approved means.

3 4 > These are the dominant styles in traditional direct-method courses as well as in situational courses and are certainly significant in the communicative approach, where the teacher decreases his or her status as an authority figure and interweaves with students at work on a wide range of possible materials, often improvizing along the way and encouraging novelty and originality (moving indeed as far as possible in the direction of the marketplace as the constraints of the monastery permit).

5 6 > These styles are dominant here and there in all methods and approaches, as for example when publishers and educational systems prepare "teacher-proof" materials that are more important than the teachers (who may be considered insufficiently skilled in the target language or the methods used); or, in such settings as the language laboratory where everyone is subordinate to the equipment and the software to be used; or, again, in a military situation where large numbers of trained personnel are needed, skilled in a particular language, and assembly line techniques predominate.

These six are not the only possible permutations. People may dislike the idea of linearity or priority, and instead try to group the three elements together in a cluster that requires no predetermined dominance (or at least seeks to conceal any such dominance), thus:

7 Teacher
Students
Materials

The implicit message here is: "We all matter equally, you, me and the book, regardless of any impressions to the contrary". Such a style has pleasing overtones of democracy; it is relaxed, humane and indeed humanistic, and can be used by a sympathetic teacher in any of the modes of language teaching: grammar-translation, direct method, structuralism, situationalism or the communicative notional-functional approach. Its detractors, however, see it as risking an anarchic free-for all, admitting too much of the world into the seclusion of the monastery.

Our schools and colleges today, I would propose, tend to suffer because we are not very good at reconciling monastery and marketplace: we try to soften the old authoritarianism and discover permissiveness; we recoil from permissiveness and rediscover the basics; we worry about whether we should offer academic courses to all, or vocational employment-oriented courses to all, or how to vary the mix without turning some people into smug elitists and others into angry underdogs. It is no surprise that many of our schools serve as battle-grounds between the two traditions rather than as centres of education, creating very considerable ideological and social confusion. In our profession particularly, we are caught between *conservative* language-teaching methods on the one hand and *radical* language-teaching approaches on the other: There are the teachers who favour explicit grammar, direct translation, rules, rote learning, deductive reasoning, written work, literary emphases, language history, and standard language on the one side, and teachers who favour implicit grammar or no organized grammar at all, immersion, free-wheeling, problem-solving and "authentic" language, inductive reasoning, oral work, vocational and social emphases, contemporary usage, and dialect and informal language on the other side. They are often antagonistic, argumentative and even arrogant towards each other, each having a conviction that they possess the true apostolic position.

Piaget asserts that children—and the adults that children become—value a feeling of equilibrium in their understanding of the world they live in, and that a feeling of *dis*equilibrium disturbs them and makes them search for a fresh balance and understanding. This describes pretty well how I have felt as a language teacher over the last twenty years or so, and my own suggestion as regards our models of how classrooms work is very much an attempt to achieve equilibrium. Most of us would recognize nowadays that there are very few panaceas in our profession. Proponents of THE way to salvation in the teaching of a foreign language are greeted more and more skeptically as time passes. We are approaching satiation as regards claims about new methods and approaches that ask us to abandon earlier methods and approaches that we know were flawed but were not necessarily all bad. My own inclination here is towards a rationally and emotionally satisfying approach to both methods and materials, and towards the student-teacher relationship. The classroom with all its strengths and weaknesses won't go away, and as a consequence I want to turn the six models of linear priority and the seventh model of teacher, student and materials all clustered together into a circle model, a rotating device where the strengths of all these models can be used and their weaknesses minimized. Imagine then a kind of triangle with the teacher at one point, students at another and materials at a third, but the possibility of rotating that triangle in any direction, thus:

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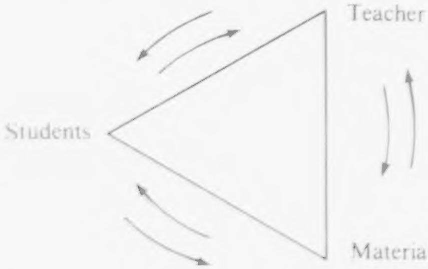

In an approach like this, which is in fact a stylization of something I conceive as much more fluid, no component is permanently dominant. Each can rotate into primary position as the need for it arises, permitting us to vary our work more consciously and also to take into account students' attention spans more coherently. For certain purposes, the teacher can perform in front of the class in such roles as *fountain-of-truth, actor, policeman, judge,* even sometimes as a *persecutor pushing the students for all they are worth.* At other times the materials and equipment can come to the fore (film, tapes, language laboratory, television, computer, whatever) doing work that teachers cannot do, providing variety that no individual teacher can ever provide, offering an accuracy that no single human being can match. At still other times, the students are in the foreground of things, released from a single focus, on teacher, book or machine, taking on a variety of roles in their turn, maybe even taking over the classroom and making a lot of noise, or organized in groups of various sizes for various purposes with a variety of improvized materials, games, songs, dramas, dialogues, situations whether simulated or authentic, and from time to time spilling out of the classroom into the marketplace to try their skills.[8]

Models like these are only aids, descriptive devices for various patterns and tendencies in what we do. There is no ultimate truth in what I'm describing here; an explicit attempt, however, to talk about how we conceive our classrooms may do no harm and may even do some good. If one is going to have ideological attitudes, they might as well be as coherent to us as possible, *and subject to overt examination.* The result might be a more truly humane approach to education in general and language education in particular. I suspect Wee Jimmy would have preferred things that way, in a world where he would be allowed both dogs *and* dugs.

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[8] The triangular model proposed here appears in *A Foundation Course for Language Teachers*, Tom McArthur, Cambridge University Press, 1983 (p. 87). A similar, but "immobile" triangle can be found on p. 100 of an article by Julian Dakin entitled "The Teaching of Reading" in *Applied Linguistics and the Teaching of English*, Hugh Fraser and W. R. O'Donnell (Eds.), Longmans, London, 1969. A more complex version of the Dakin triangle is in R. J. Handscombe. 1975. The Sunrunners: ESL by TV for grade 3 in Ontario. *TESOL Quarterly* 9: 3:289-98.